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Collotype Facsimile and Type Transcript  
OF AN  
ELIZABETHAN MANUSCRIPT  
PRESERVED AT  
ALNWICK CASTLE, NORTHUMBERLAND.

London :

PRINTED BY TRUSLOVE & BRAY,

WEST NORWOOD, S.E.



Northumberland Manuscripts.

COLLOTYPE FACSIMILE & TYPE TRANSCRIPT  
OF AN  
Elizabethan Manuscript

PRESERVED AT  
ALNWICK CASTLE, NORTHUMBERLAND,

CONTAINING

- i. Of Tribute, or giving what is due, by Francis Bacon.
- ii. Of Magnanimitie, by Francis Bacon.
- iii. Advertisement touching private censure, by Francis Bacon.
- iv. Advertisement touching the controversies of the Church, by Francis Bacon.
- v. Letter to a French gentleman touching the proceedings in England in Ecclesiastical causes, by Francis Bacon.
- vi. Speeches for a Device presented A.D. 1595, by Francis Bacon.
- vii. Speech of the Earl of Sussex.
- viii. Letter from Sir Philip Sidney to Queen Elizabeth on her proposed marriage to the Duke of Anjou.
- ix. Leicester's Commonwealth.

**Transcribed and Edited with Notes and Introduction**

BY

FRANK J. BURGOYNE,

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DEDICATED TO  
His Grace the Duke of Northumberland,  
K.G., P.C., D.C.L., F.R.S., etc.,  
BY WHOSE KIND PERMISSION  
THE MANUSCRIPT HAS BEEN PHOTOGRAPHED  
AND PUBLISHED,  
AND TO  
Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence, Bt., M.P.,  
OF  
KING'S RIDE, ASCOT,  
WITHOUT WHOSE AID AND ENCOURAGEMENT  
THIS VOLUME COULD NOT HAVE  
BEEN PUBLISHED.

*This Edition is limited to Two Hundred and  
Fifty Copies, of which this is No. .... 220*



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# INTRODUCTION.

THE attention of scholars is specially called to the manuscript which is now for the first time photographically facsimiled. In the year 1870 the first few pages of it were printed by Mr. James Spedding under the title of "A Conference of Pleasure," but this publication is now scarce, as only a limited edition was issued.

All that is known of the manuscript is contained in a letter dated August 14, 1869, written by Mr. John Bruce, who had been commissioned by the late Duke of Northumberland to examine his manuscripts and report upon any of historical or literary interest.

"Up to about two years ago, there had remained at Northumberland House, for a long time, two black boxes of considerable size, presumed to contain papers, but nobody knew of the boxes having ever been opened, or could give any information respecting their history, or tell what kind of papers they contained. These boxes were opened at the time I have indicated, and the contents, which turned out to be papers, as had been supposed, were taken out that I might inspect them. I did so in the month of August, 1867. I found them to be of a very miscellaneous character, many of them more or less connected with the history of the Percys, and others of a more general historical interest.

"Upon some of them were found notes in reference to their contents, written by the hand of Bishop Percy, the editor of the *Reliques*, who was domestic chaplain at Northumberland House from about 1765 to 1782. He occupied apartments in the House, and gave considerable attention to the old papers belonging to the family. It is probable that he looked through all the papers now under consideration, and that it was under his direction that they were placed in the boxes alluded to.

"Among the papers taken out of these boxes I found the transcripts of the papers of Bacon. They formed part of a miscellaneous collection, or unbound volume, of transcripts, containing among other things a copy of *Leicester's Commonwealth* and other pamphlets and documents relating to the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Looking hastily at the Bacon transcripts, I saw at once some matter which I recollected as already in print. Other parts of them seemed new to me. I mentioned this circumstance at the time to some members of the family of the Duke of Northumberland, who took an interest in what I was about. I pointed it out as a subject for further inquiry, and at the same time directed attention to the oddity of the recurrence and combination of the names of Bacon and Shakespeare in the scribble on the fly-leaf of the MS.

"A good many of the papers taken out of the boxes had been subjected to the action of fire. Their edges were found burnt and singed in the same way as the Bacon transcripts. Among the papers thus damaged was a collection of transcripts of accounts of public ceremonials, such as royal marriages, funerals, and coronations. With this collection was found a paper on which was written, in a hand of the last century, perhaps that of Bishop Percy, although larger than his ordinary hand, a memorandum that those papers relating to ceremonials had been purchased at 'Anstis's sale,' which I understood to allude to the sale of the MSS. of the two Garters Anstis, the father and son, which took place in 1768.

"This memorandum seemed to point to the possibility that the Bacon transcripts might have come to Northumberland House in the same manner as those relating to ceremonials. I thought it right therefore to endeavour to inspect a copy of the Anstis sale catalogue. For a considerable time I was unsuccessful. There is no copy at the British Museum, nor at the Society of Antiquaries, nor in several other likely places. Ultimately one was found at the College of Arms. Unfortunately, like most of the sale catalogues of that period, the lots are described in terms so general and unprecise that it is quite impossible to say what may not have been included under words so vague. Certainly the Bacon MS. is not directly mentioned. In a miscellaneous collection of papers, thrown together into one lot, there is mention of a copy of his argument, *De rege inconsulto*; and in the course of the catalogue there are several copies of Leicester's Commonwealth, but they do not occur in lots which can be identified with the MS. you are dealing with, but rather the contrary.

"What I have stated seems to lead to the conclusion that the papers were deposited in boxes after 1768. That inference is strengthened by the circumstance that the Anstis MS. is so much injured by fire that—its contents not being highly valuable—it is unlikely that it would have been bought for the Ducal library in its burnt condition. The same conclusion is rendered more probable by the circumstance that there occurred a fire in Northumberland House on the 18th of March 1780, which destroyed a very considerable part of the front towards Charing Cross,<sup>1</sup> including the apartments occupied by Dr. Percy, then Dean of Carlisle. The *Gent. Mag.* of the day takes pains to inform its readers that 'the greatest part of the Dean's invaluable library was fortunately preserved.' It says nothing of any MSS. of the Duke's, but I think we may safely infer that in all probability this was the fire in which the Anstis MSS., the Bacon transcript, and several other manuscripts were injured; and if so, that they were not put into the black boxes until after March 1780.

"We may also I think find another limit. Dr. Percy was in 1782 appointed Bishop of Dromore, 'where he continually resided' (*Nichols's Lit. Anecd.* iii. 754) from his appointment to his death in 1811. The putting these papers into the boxes, looks very like the act of Dr. Percy when taking leave of Northumberland House and about to remove to Dromore.

"From 1782 to 1867 the history of these papers is pretty clear; I will only add that nothing has been done with them since they were found, except that the burnt and singed edges have been carefully repaired by a trustworthy person accustomed to that kind of work, and very skilful in it."

<sup>1</sup> *Annual Register* for 1780, p. 202. *Gent. Mag.* for March, 1780, p. 151.



The manuscript found by Mr. Bruce is described by Mr. Spedding as follows, viz.: "It is a folio volume of twenty-two sheets which have been laid one upon the other, folded double (as in an ordinary quire of paper), and fastened by a stitch through the centre. One leaf . . . the tenth, is missing, and one . . . appears to have been glued or pasted in."

Since Mr. Spedding wrote, the manuscript has been taken to pieces and each leaf carefully inlaid in stout paper, and these have been bound up with a large paper copy of his pamphlet entitled "A Conference of Pleasure." The manuscript in its present condition contains 45 leaves, so Mr. Spedding does not appear to have included the outside page in his enumeration. The pages are not numbered, and there are no traces of stitching or sewing; it is therefore quite impossible even to conjecture what was the number of sheets in the original volume.

The manuscript in its present state consists of:—

1. A much be-scribbled outer page, or cover, which appears to be the original list of the transcripts within . . . . . *Folio 1-2*
2. Of Tribute, or giving what is due. By Bacon . . . *Folio 3-25*
  - i. The praise of the worthiest vertue.
  - ii. The praise of the worthiest affection.
  - iii. The praise of the worthiest power.
  - iv. The praise of the worthiest person.
3. Of Magnanimitie or heroicall vertue. By Bacon . . . *Folio 25-26*
4. An advertisement touching private censure. By Bacon. *Folio 26-29*
5. An advertisement touching the controversies of the Church of England. By Bacon . . . . . *Folio 29-44*
6. A letter to a French gent: touching y<sup>e</sup> proceedings in Engl: in Ecclesiasticall causes, translated out of French into English by W. W. By Bacon . . . *Folio 44-45*
- A blank page . . . . . *Folio 46*
7. Speeches spoken in a "Device" before Queen Elizabeth in 1595. The Device was presented by the Earl of Essex and the speeches were written by Bacon . . *Folio 47-53*
  - i. The Hermitt's fyrst speach.
  - ii. The Hermitt's second speach.
  - iii. The Soldier's speach.
  - iv. The Secretarie's speach.
  - v. The Squyre's speach.

8. For the Earle of Sussex at y<sup>e</sup> tilt, an: 96 . . . . *Folio 53-54*
9. A letter dissuading Queen Elizabeth from marrying the  
Duke of Anjou. By Sir Philip Sidney . . . . *Folio 55-61*
- A blank page . . . . . *Folio 62*
10. A copy of "Leicester's Commonwealth," imperfect both  
at the commencement and the end . . . . *Folio 63-90*

The index, or page of contents, which forms the outer sheet and which is termed *Folio 1*, appears from its dust-begrimed condition, to have always formed the outside cover of the collection. It is probable that the page was folded in the centre longitudinally, and short titles of the contents written upon the right-hand side of the leaf. Although the page has been scribbled over, and damaged severely by fire and dust, the following titles can still be read upon it.

Mr. ffrauncis Bacon.

Of tribute or giving what is dew.

The praise of the worthiest vertue.

The praise of the worthiest affection.

The praise of the worthiest power.

The praise of the worthiest person.

Philipp against Monsieur.

Earle of Arundell's letter to the Queen.

Speaches for my Lord of Essex at the tylt.

A speach for my Lord of Sussex, tilt.

Leycester's Commonwealth. Incerto autore.

Orations at Graie's Inne revells.

. . . . . Queene's Ma<sup>te</sup> . . . .

By Mr. ffrauncis Bacon.

Essaies by the same author.

Rychard the second.

Rychard the third.

Asmund and Cornelia.

Ile of dogs frmnt.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This entry is followed by some almost illegible words. It is probable that the original entry was "The Ile of Dogs, a fragment by Thomas Nashe, and inferior plaiers."

On comparing this list with the actual contents of the book as given on pages xi.-xii., it will be seen that four of the articles now contained in the volume are not mentioned, viz. :—

No. 3. Of Magnanimitie.

No. 4. Advertisement touching private censure.

No. 5. Advertisement touching the controversies of the Church.

No. 6. Letter to a French gent. touching Ecclesiastical causes in England.

On the other hand, nine articles mentioned on the contents page or cover have disappeared. They may have been separated from what is left by accident or by design. The missing portion contained the following :—

i. The Earle of Arundell's letter to the Queen.

ii. Orations at Gray's Inn revells.

These are probably the speeches of the six councillors to the "Prince of Purpoole," presented at Gray's Inn in 1594.

iii. An address or letter to the Queen, written by Bacon.

iv. Essays by Bacon.

v.-vi. The Shakespeare plays of Richard II. and Richard III.

vii. Asmund and Cornelia.

Probably a play, but nothing is known respecting it.

viii. The Ile of Dogs; a play by Thomas Nashe.

ix. The missing portion of "Leicester's Commonwealth."

The date when the manuscript was written cannot be fixed with certainty. Mr. Spedding says that while it is impossible to give an exact date, he could find nothing either in the scribbling upon the outside page, nor in what remains of the book itself to indicate a date later than the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

The list of contents on the outside page shows that the manuscript originally contained a copy of Bacon's Essays. The first edition of these appeared in 1597, but they were circulated in manuscript several years prior to that date. Bacon in his "Epistle Dedicatorie" to the first edition, dated

January 30, 1597, complaining of some piratical publisher who contemplated printing them without his consent, writes as follows:—

“I doe nowe like some that haue an Orcharde ill neighbored, that gather their fruit before it is ripe, to preuent stealing. These fragments of my conceites were going to print. . . . Therefore I helde it best discreation to publish them my selfe as they passed long agoe from my pen.”

This letter points to the extensive circulation of the essays in manuscript form, which would cease on their issue as a book. They were printed in January, 1597, and again in 1598, and so were easily to be procured in book form after February, 1597. This appears to fix the date of the manuscript as about that period, for it is not reasonable to suppose that the expensive and imperfect method of copying in manuscript would be continued after the printed editions had appeared. The same argument applies to the plays of “Rychard II.” and “Rychard III.,” which are included in the list of contents. These also were first printed in 1597, and issued at a published price of sixpence each. It seems, therefore, reasonable to conclude that the manuscript was written not later than January, 1597, and it seems more probable that no part of the manuscript was written after 1596. Corroboration for this approximate date is obtained from the composition of the various parts of the manuscript. The first item, “Of Tribute,” was written by Bacon for a masque or device played in 1592. The “Controversies of the Church of England,” was written in 1589. The “Letter to a French gent.” was written between 1589 and 1590. The “Speeches of the Hermit, the Soldier, the Secretary, and the Squire,” were spoken in a masque performed in 1595. The Earl of Sussex’s speech was spoken “an. [15]96.” The “Letter of Sir Philip Sydney to Queen Elizabeth” was written about 1580. The stinging political pamphlet, “Leicester’s Commonwealth,” part of which concludes the manuscript in its present state, was printed secretly on the Continent in 1584. We know that its circulation was forbidden, the copies seized and the printers prosecuted. This being so, there would be difficulty in obtaining the printed book in England, and it was therefore necessary to continue to produce manuscript copies of the pamphlet.

If the front page or outside cover, which is here called folio 1, be carefully examined it will be seen that, in addition to a list of the contents of the manuscript, there are various other words, marks and sentences scribbled upon it. Some portions are difficult to decipher on account of the page having been damaged by dust and fire. A modern script rendering of the words and



Nevill

Mr. ffrauncis Bacon  
of Tribute or giving what is dew



Nevill

By Christ religio fons refusing  
your religion refreshing your selves  
most as in Christ  
favour most refusinge of any s  
ne vile velis  
ne vile velis  
refreshing ye hart

all Anthony Comfort and consorte  
laden with grief and  
oppression of heart

Philippe  
Nullis annis iam transactis  
Nulla fides est in pactis  
Mell in ore Verba lactis  
Hell in Corde ffraus in factis

your lovinge  
friend  
honorificabilitudinine  
Leicester's Common Wealth  
Inceritv autore

Esquer agt  
The praise of the worthiest vertue  
The praise of the worthiest affection  
The praise of the worthiest power  
The praise of the worthiest person

Thomas  
By Mr. ffrauncis Bacon of Cr  
turner

Greis Inn in the  
Philippe against monsieur  
revealed  
Earle of Arundells letter to the Queon  
from your service

Speeches for my Lord of Essex at the tyllt

Speech for my Lord of Sussex tilt  
more than externally  
Dymonith Adam

Orations at Graues Inne revells

Dyr Quenes Mate many  
Earle of Arundles By Mr. ffrauncis Bacon Bacon  
letter to the Quenes mgt

Essaies by the same author  
round of By Mr  
printed

By Mr. ffrauncis Bacon William Shakespeare  
Richard the second Shakespeare  
Richard the third ffrauncis

Bacon end of the Asmund and Cornelia Thomas  
Asmund and Cornelia Thom Thom  
revealing Ile of Dogs fr mnt as your  
day through by Thomas Nashe inferior plauers  
every crany by Thomas Nashe

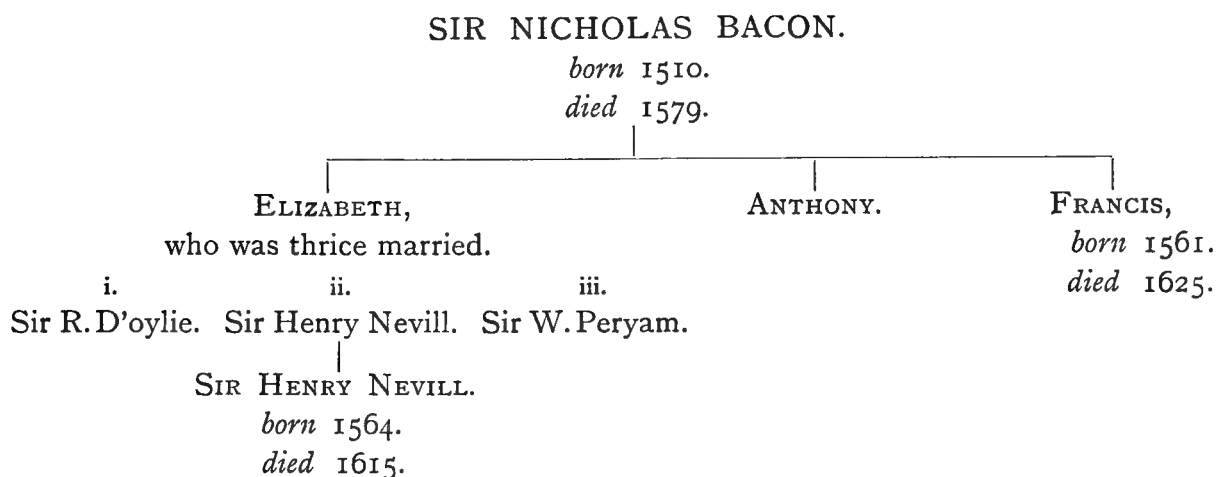
peepes and see your William Shakespeare  
Shak Sh Sh  
Shak Shakespeare  
Shak your  
William Shakespeare

William Shakespeare Wm Wm  
Will Shakspe  
William Shakespe  
Shakespear

sentences which can still be read is here inserted so that their exact position can easily be seen.

On the left-hand corner of the page of contents the name *Nevill* can be traced in two places, and near it the punning motto of the family, *Ne vile velis*. Perhaps this gives a clue to the original ownership of the volume, as it seems to indicate that the collection was written for, or was the property of, some member of the Nevill family. Who this was is uncertain, but it seems probable that it was Bacon's nephew, Sir Henry Nevill.

The relationship is shown below :—



The younger Nevill, for whom it is suggested the manuscript was prepared, was therefore but three years the junior of Francis Bacon. They both entered Parliament in 1584, and were doubtless on intimate terms. It is probable that Nevill was on the Continent some time between 1590 and 1598, for he was sent as ambassador to Paris in 1599, and it is hardly likely that a man unacquainted with foreign countries would have been selected.

*Anthony comfort and consorte.*

Probably a reference to Francis Bacon's elder brother, who on various occasions obtained advances of money for him and was associated with him in many of his literary labours.

*Honorificabilitudine.*

A variant of this interesting word occurs in a charter dated A.D. 1187. It is used also in the "Complaynt of Scotland," 1548-9, and another form of it, "Honorificabilitidinitatibus," is found in *Love's Labour Lost*, which we know to have been acted at Christmas, 1597. In the pamphlet "Lenten Stuffe,"

printed about 1599, it is used by Nashe, who writes: "Physitions deafen our eares with the Honorificabilitudinitatibus of their heavenly Panachæa."

*Multis annis jam transactis,  
Nulla fides est in pactis,  
Mell in ore. Verba lactis,  
ffell in corde. ffraus in factis.*

This verse was known to Anthony Bacon, for a letter from Rodolphe Bradley has been preserved, in which he writes:—<sup>1</sup>

"Your gracious speeches concerninge the gettinge of a prebendshippe for me . . . . be the words of a faithfull friende and not of a courtiour, who hath Mel in ore et verba lactis, sed fel in corde et fraus in factis."

This letter is dated April 2, 1597; which is about the date suggested for the writing of the manuscript. The lines in a slightly different form also appear on the title page of Ulpian Fulwell's book, "The first parte of the Eyghth liberall Science . . . Ars Adulandi," published about 1580; and in Tabouret's "Les Bigarrures et Touches," Paris 1608.

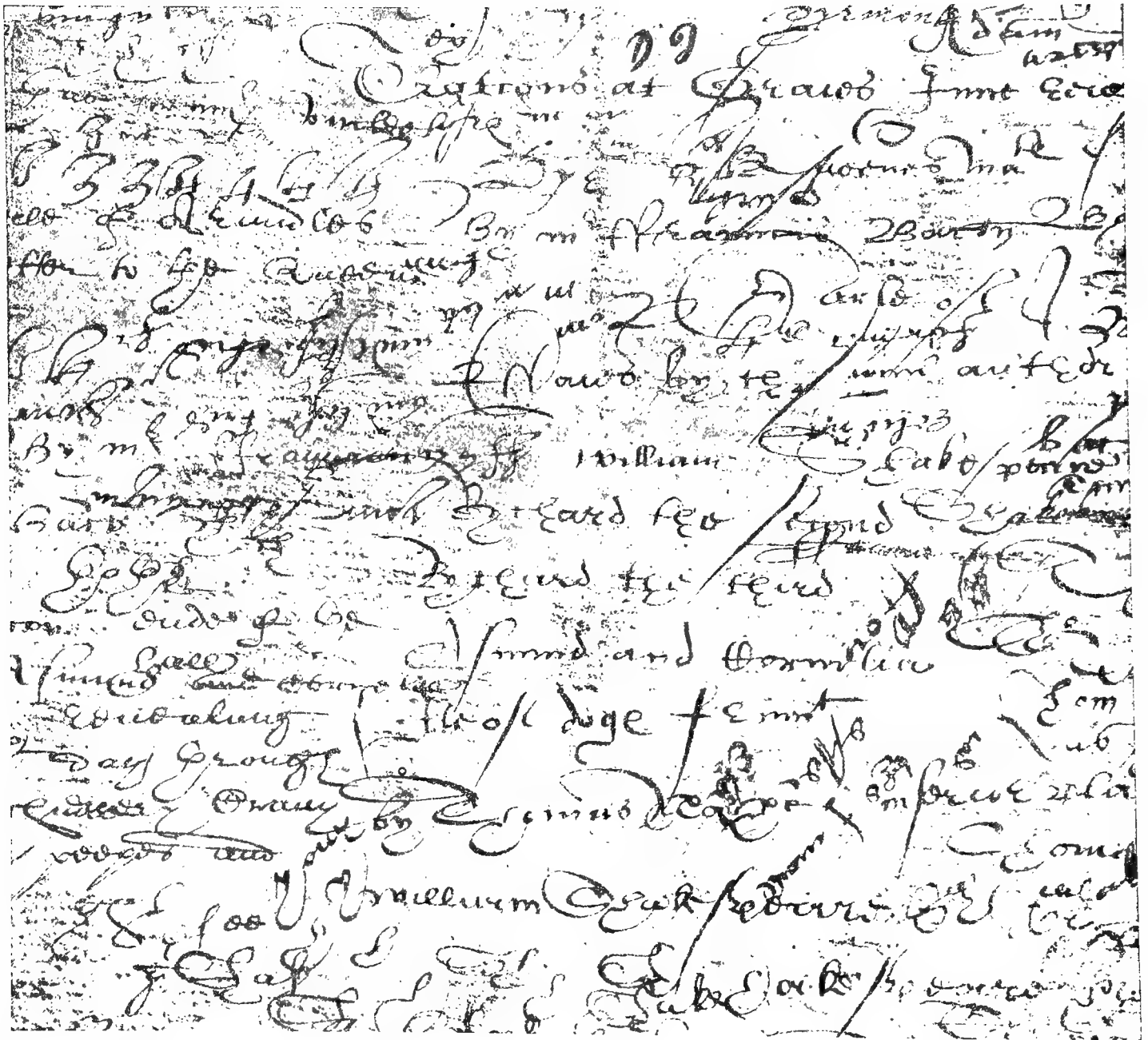
*revealing  
day through  
every crany  
peepes and  
see  
Shak*

This is practically line 1,086 of the "Rape of Lucrece." The only difference being that the word "spies" is there employed instead of "peepes." It seems, therefore, probable that "*see Shak*" was intended by the scribbler to refer to the poem of "Lucrece," which was first published in 1594. It has already been stated that the date of the writing of the manuscript is probably before 1597. If this be so, this quotation is interesting as an almost contemporary notice of the poem.

The name *Shakespeare* or *William Shakespeare* and the name *Baco*, *Bacon*, or *Francis Bacon* have been written upon the page eight or nine times. The initial letters *S*, *Wlm*, *B*, *Sh* and *Mr*, also frequently occur. This association of the names and their conjunction on the title-page of a collection of manuscripts ascribed to each, must be of deep interest to all students of English literature.

<sup>1</sup> Tenison MSS., Lambeth Palace Library, vol. 15, folio 110.

It should be remembered that no trace of any original manuscript of any play or poem ascribed to Shakespeare has ever been discovered. On the title-page, however, of the collection of manuscripts here facsimiled, mention is made of Shakespeare's plays of Richard II. and Richard III., as having formed part



of the original contents. And the fact that this title-page is scribbled over in a contemporary handwriting, with the names of "Bacon" and of "Shakespeare" in close proximity and seemingly of set purpose, has caused believers in the Baconian authorship of the Shakespeare plays to cite this page as confirmatory evidence of their theory. In order that the exact



position of the words quoted may be the more easily seen, several facsimiles with interpretations in modern writing have been prepared. Facsimile 1b (p. 170) is photographed from the facsimile published by Mr. Spedding in 1870, when the manuscript was a little brighter and more could be made out than

Dyr month  
Adam

Orations at Graes Inne reve

Dyr  
Queenes ma<sup>te</sup>

Earle of Arundles By m<sup>n</sup> ffrauncis Bacon  
(letter to the Queens

Earle of A

and libetie

Essaies by the same author

By Mr. ffrauncis William Shakespeare  
Bacon Rycharde the Second Shakesp  
Rycharde the third

(Bacon ende of the Asmund and Cornelia  
hall  
revealing Ile of Dogs fr<sup>nt</sup>  
day through  
every crany, by Thomas Nashe  
peepes and your<sup>g</sup> inferior pla  
see William Shakespeare Thomas  
Shak Sh Sh Shakespeare Sh  
Sh

at the present time. In facsimile 1a (p. 169) the negative was much over intensified in order to dissolve out the background, but many of the finer lines have disappeared in the process. Facsimile 1c (p. 171) is photographed from the manuscript in its present condition. An enlarged facsimile of a portion of folio 1 is shewn on p. xviii., and a script rendering of the same is

printed on the opposite page, in order that the Shakespeare entries may be more easily studied.

Attention is more particularly called to the line written above the entry "Rychard the Second."

*spunewff*  
By Mr. ffrauncis William Shakespeare.

The word "ffrauncis" has been twice written (the second entry being upside down and over the first) as if by this device it had been intended to emphasise the name. It is worthy of notice that the name of "Shakespeare" does not appear upon any of the plays printed prior to 1598. The writing upon folio 1 would seem therefore to be one of the earliest ascriptions of authorship, and it is specially remarkable that the author's name appears as "Mr. ffrauncis William Shakespeare." Where the name "William Shakespeare" is repeated lower down, another device is employed to emphasise the entry. The word "Your" being twice written across the name, so that it reads "Your" "your" "William Shakespeare." Mr. Spedding seemed to think that much of this writing was mere scribble, but the scribble is contemporary and it is difficult to imagine that it was written without intelligent purpose.

The back of the contents page, or folio 2 of the manuscript (see folio 2 of the Facsimiles), contains very little. The words written upon it are as follows:—

*Thomas*  
*Imita*  
*g ofising turner*  
*Imitatio refusing*  
*Imprising*  
*Imprisonm<sup>t</sup>*  
*resolved in the*  
*But yo'self in prince*  
*Anthonie ffitzherbert*

As to the penmen who actually wrote the manuscript nothing certain is known. The writing on the contents page is chiefly in one hand, with occasional words in another, and a few words mostly scrawled across the page at an angle, appear to be written by a third. The main body of the work is in two or more handwritings, and the difference is especially to be noted in "Leycester's Commonwealth," which appears to have been written in a hurry, for the writing has been overspaced on some pages and over-

crowded in others, as if different penmen had been employed. There are also noticeable breaks on folios 64 and 88, and the difference in penmanship on these pages is specially remarkable.

This points to the collection having been written at a literary workshop or professional writer's establishment. It is a fact worthy of notice, that Bacon and his brother Anthony were interested in a business of the kind about the time suggested for the date of the writing of this book. Mr. Spedding states :—<sup>1</sup>

“Anthony Bacon appears to have served [Essex] in a capacity very like that of a modern under-secretary of state; receiving all letters, which were mostly in cipher; in the first instance; forwarding them (generally through his brother Francis's hands) to the Earl, deciphered and accompanied with their joint suggestions; and finally, according to the instructions thereupon returned, framing and dispatching the answers.

Several writers must have been employed to carry out with promptitude such work as here outlined, and we find in a letter from Francis Bacon to his brother,<sup>2</sup> dated January 25th, 1594, that the clerks were also employed upon other work. The concluding paragraph of Bacon's letter reads :—

“I have here an idle pen or two, specially one that was cozened, thinking to have got some money this term. I pray send me somewhat else for them to write out besides your Irish collection, which is almost done. There is a collection of Dr. James of foreign states, largeliest of Flanders, which, though it be no great matter, I would be glad to have it.”

In a letter to Tobie Matthew, Bacon writes :—“My labours are now most set to have those works, which I had formerly published . . . well translated into Latin by the help of some good pens, which forsake me not.” We have but little information as to the writers employed by Anthony and Francis, but Ben Jonson formed one of the group, for Archbishop Tenison writes<sup>3</sup> :—“The Latine translation of [the Essays] was a work performed by divers hands; by those of . . . Mr. Benjamin Johnson (the learned and judicious poet) and some others whose names I cannot now recall.” In this connection it is worthy of notice that in “The Great Assises holden in Parnassus by Apollo and his Assessours,” printed in 1645, the “Chancellor” is declared to be “Lord Verulan,” and “Ben Johnson” is described as the “Keeper of the Trophonian Denne.” It seems not unlikely that this literary workshop was the source of the “Verulamian Workmanship,” which is referred to by Isaac Gruter, in a letter to Dr. William Rawley (Bacon's secretary and executor)

<sup>1</sup> Life of Bacon, vol i., p. 250-1.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*, vol. i, p. 349.

<sup>3</sup> Baconiana, 1679, p. 60.

written from Maestricht, and dated March 20, 1655. The letter was written in Latin, and both the original and the translation are printed in "Baconiana, or certain genuine Remains of S<sup>r</sup> Francis Bacon," London, 1679. An extract reads as follows :—

"If my Fate would permit me to live according to my Wishes, I wolud flie over into *England*, that I might behold whatsoever remaineth, in your Cabinet, of the *Verulamian* Workmanship, and at least make my Eyes witnesses of it, if the possession of the Merchandize be yet denied to the Publick.

"At present I will support the Wishes of my impatient desire, with hope of seeing, one Day, those [Issues] which being committed to faithful Privacie, wait the time till they may safely see the Light, and not be stifled in their Birth."

While this work was passing through the press, a pamphlet has been published, in which the suggestion is made that the penman of the contents page may have been John Davies, of Hereford, poet, and teacher of penmanship. Amongst his pupils he numbered several members of the Northumberland family. He was well acquainted with Sir Henry Nevill, for in his work entitled "Microcosmos," published in 1603, he dedicates a sonnet "*To the Noble, discreete and wellbeloved Knight, Sir Henry Nevill.*" It is interesting to note that Bacon was also a friend of the poet, and Davies in "The Scourge of Folly," published about 1610, apostrophises him in the following sonnet :—

"To the royall, ingenious, and all-learned Knight, S<sup>r</sup> Francis Bacon.

Thy *bounty* and the *Beauty* of thy Witt  
Comprisd in Lists of *Law* and learned *Arts*,  
Each making thee for great *Employment* fitt  
Which now thou hast, (though short of thy deserts)  
Compells my pen to let fall shining *Inke*  
And to bedew the *Baies* that *deck* thy *Front* ;  
And to thy health in *Helicon* to drinke  
As to her *Bellamour* the *Muse* is wont :  
For, thou dost her embozom ; and, dost vse  
Her company for sport twixt grave affaires :  
So vtterst *Law* the liuelyer through thy *Muse*.  
And for that all thy *Notes* are sweetest *Aires* ;  
*My Muse thus notes thy worth in ev'ry Line,*  
*With ynce which thus she sugers ; so, to shine.*

In the list of contents (folio 1) a copy of a play entitled "The Ile of Dogs," written by Thomas Nashe, is included. Of this work but little is known,



and no copy has been found. We learn that it existed from the following reference to it in Nashe's pamphlet "Lenten Stuffe," which he published in 1599. The pamphlet commences:—

"The straunge turning of the Ile of Dogs frō a commedie to a tragedie two summers past, with the troublesome stir which hapned aboute it, in a generall rumour that hath filled all England, and such a heaue crosse laid upon me, as had well neere confounded mee: I meane, not so much in that it sequestred me from my woonted meanes of my maintenance, which is as great a maim to any mans happinesse as can bee feared from the hands of miserie; or the deepe pit of dispaire wherinto I was falne, beyond my greatest friendes reach to recouer mee; but that in my exile and irkesome disconted abandonment, the silliest millers thombe, or contemptible sticklebanck of my enemies, is as busie nibbling about my fame, as if I were a deade man throwne amongst them to feede upon. . . . That infortunate imperfit embrion of my idle houres, the Ile of Dogs before mentioned, breeding unto me such bitter throwes in the teaming as it did. . . . I was so terrifyed with my owne encrease . . . that it was no sooner borne, but I was glad to runne from it. An imperfit Embriō I ma well call it, for I hauing begun but the induction and first act of it, the other foure acts, without my consent, or the least guesse of my drift or scope by the players were supplied, which bred both their trouble and mine to."

Mr. Grosart states that "the play when produced roused the anger of the Queen's Privy Council, who withdrew their licence from the theatre and flung Nashe into jail." In the "Acts of the Privy Council" for 1597, edited by Mr. J. R. Dasent, an account appears of a meeting held at Greenwich on August 15th, 1597. Amongst other business, a letter was sent to Richard Topclyffe and four other magistrates, in the following terms:—

"Uppon informacion given us of a lewd plaie, that was plaied in one of the plaiehowses on the Bancke Side, contanyng very seditious and sclanderous matter, wee caused some of the players to be apprehended and comytted to pryson; whereof one of them was not only an actor but a maker of parte of the said plaie . . . these shalbe therefore to require you to examine . . . the plaiers . . . Wee praie you also to peruse soch papers as were fownde in Nash his lodgings . . . which Ferrys . . . shall delyver unto you. . . ."

No doubt the play above referred to was the "Ile of Dogs," for Gabriel Harvey in his pamphlet "The Triming of Thomas Nashe," printed in 1597, writes: "Since that thy Ile of Dogs hath made thee thus miserable, I cannot but account thee a dog and chide and rate thee." This pamphlet contains a rough wood-cut of Nashe in fetters. It will be noted that the entry on folio 1 has the words "inferior plaiers" written after it, which may be a reference to the quality of the work ascribed to Nashe. None of the references to "The

Ile of Dogs" which appear in "The Diary of Philip Henslowe," edited by John Payne Collier in 1845, are of value, as the researches of Mr. Warner have proved them to be forgeries.

Passing from this description of the Manuscript and its outside page or cover, a word must be said as to the method adopted in the type rendering of the work. Fire has destroyed several lines of the bottom of every page, but the remainder of each left-hand page is practically perfect owing to the copyist having left a liberal margin. The right-hand pages have suffered much more, as the writing was taken to the edge of the paper, and thus the last two or three words of each line are missing. After some consideration, the plan suggested by Mr. Spedding was adopted for the first portion of the manuscript comprising folios 3 to 62. Each page is printed line for line with the original, and the words missing at the sides of each *recto* have been supplied from other copies, or by conjecture where other copies do not exist. All additions thus made are marked by the insertion of [ ], a square bracket. The same course has been adopted with regard to the half-dozen lines destroyed at the bottom of each page. It has not been deemed possible to do this upon folios 3 to 12, and 25 to 28, as no other copies either in print or in manuscript of the parts missing are known to exist.

It will be noticed that the number of lines written upon different pages varies from thirty-seven on folio 17 to forty-nine on folio 56. As the type transcription of the first 62 folios are printed page for page with the manuscript, the lack of uniformity in their appearance is thus accounted for. The writing on folios 63 to 90, comprising what remains of "Leycester's Commonwealth," is in smaller writing, and the lines are placed nearer together, so it has not been thought advisable to keep this portion page for page, and line for line, in the same way, as the earlier folios. The *lacunæ* have been supplied from the printed edition of 1641, and inserted in square brackets. The commencement of each folio is marked by a headline, so that the transcript may easily be compared with the facsimile. In order to avoid confusion it has been deemed advisable not to follow strictly the punctuation or the capital letters of the original. Mr. Spedding, on this point, writes that "the transcriber was probably accustomed to copy legal documents, in which points had no value, and sentences were not divided. For though it cannot be said that there is no punctuation at all, it is introduced so irregularly that it serves rather to confuse than to explain the construction." With this exception the transcript is an accurate copy of the original manuscript.

## Mr. ffr. Bacon of Tribute or giving that w<sup>ch</sup> is due.

**THIS** portion of the manuscript which occupies folios 3 to 25 cannot be better described than in the following words of Mr. Spedding:—

“In the supplement to a volume of “Letters of the Lord Chancellor Bacon,” published in 1734, and commonly referred to as “Stephens’s second collection,” several of his smaller pieces, both political and philosophical, appeared in print for the first time: among the rest, two of the most remarkable of his early compositions—namely, “Mr. Bacon’s discourse in prayse of his Sovereigne” and “Mr. Bacon in prayse of knowledge;”—of which the history and true character has been hitherto doubtful.”

“They were found among the papers submitted to Stephens by Lord Oxford, and printed by Locker in the supplement to his second collection in 1734. The MSS. are still to be seen in the British Museum; fair copies in an old hand, with the titles given above, but no further explanation. My reason for suspecting that they were composed for some masque, or show, or other fictitious occasion, is partly that the speech in praise of knowledge professes to have been spoken in “a conference of pleasure,” and the speech in praise of Elizabeth appears by the opening sentence to have been preceded by three others, one of which *was* in praise of knowledge; partly that, earnest and full of matter as they both are, (the one containing the germ of the first book of the “Novum Organum,” the other of the “Observations on a Libel,” which are nothing less than a substantial historical defence of the Queen’s government,) there is nevertheless in the *style* of both a certain affectation and rhetorical cadence, traceable in Bacon’s other compositions of this kind, and agreeable to the taste of the time; but so alien to his own individual taste and natural manner, that there is no single feature by which his style is more specially distinguished, wherever he speaks in his own person, whether formally or familiarly, whether in the way of narrative, argument, or oration, than the total absence of it. That these pieces were both composed for some occasion of compliment, more or less fanciful, I feel very confident; and if it should ever appear that about the autumn of 1592 (the date to which the historical allusions in the

discourse in praise of Elizabeth point most nearly) a "device" was exhibited at Court, in which three speakers came forward in turn, each extolling his own favourite virtue,—the first delivering an oration in praise of magnanimity, the second of love, the third of knowledge,—and then a fourth came in with an oration in praise of the Queen, as combining in herself the perfection of all three; I should feel little doubt that the pieces before us were composed by Bacon for that exhibition. Unfortunately we have no detailed account of the Queen's day in 1592; we only know that it was "more solemnised than ever, and *that through my Lord of Essex his device.*"

Such was the state of the question up to 1867, when the discovery of this manuscript threw fresh light upon it. The first portion proved to be a copy of the entire device of which the "Praise of Knowledge" and the "Praise of his Sovereign" formed part.

"It did not indeed throw any new light upon the date or the occasion, but it completely explained the order and plan of it; which is very simple. Four friends, distinguished as A, B, C, and D, meet for intellectual amusement. A assumes the direction of their proceedings, and proposes that each in turn shall make a speech in praise of whatever he holds most worthy. Upon which B (after a word or two of protest in favour of satire, as better suited to the humour of the time than praise) begins with a speech in praise of "the worthiest virtue," namely, Fortitude. C follows with a speech in praise of "the worthiest affection," namely, Love. D with a speech in praise of "the worthiest power," namely, Knowledge. And A himself concludes with a speech in praise of "the worthiest person," namely, the Queen."

It is difficult to understand the history of the title, which is not suggested by any conspicuous expression in the work, and can hardly be called descriptive of the argument. The piece may have formed part of some larger entertainment, in the course of which "the payment of tribute to whom tribute was due" may have been enjoined as a task upon one or more of the performers.

*Mr ffr : Bacon of tribute  
or giuing that w<sup>ch</sup> is due.*

1. *the praise of the worthiest vertue.*
2. *the praise of the worthiest affecon.*
3. *the praise of the worthiest power.*
4. *the praise of the worthiest person.*

A	C
1	3
B	D
2	4

*A. Since we are mett lett me gouerne our leysure. B. C. D : Coma[unde. A. Let eurie man do honor to that w<sup>ch</sup> he estemeth most and c[an most worthilie praise. B. O vaine motion and ignorance of times! Are not sa[tires of more price then himnes! A. Obey.*

*The praise of ffortitude.*

My praise shalbe dedicated to the noblest of the vertues. Pr[udence to discerne betweene good and euill. Justice to stande indifferent [betweene selfe-loue and societie. Temperance to deside aright betweene [desire & reason. Theise be good innocent things. Butt the vertue of a [ction, the vertue of resolucon, the vertue of effect, is ffortitude. Pres[ent unto a man largelie endued w<sup>th</sup> prudence the tempest of a so[ddaine and greate daunger, and lett ffortitude absent her selfe; wh[at use hath he of his wisdom? hath he the power eyther to beholde the [daunger or to entende the remedye? or rather doth not the first im[pression disable him to take a true viewe of the pill, and the appreh[ension of the pill so attache and seaze his sences that he cannott in[vent meanes for his deliuerance? Where be the goodlie groundes of rea[son, the obseruacons of experience, rules, preceptes, and cautions, [uppon which he was wont at leysure to consider, compare, and conclud[e? His ordered and digested<sup>thoughts</sup> are confounded: their printes are defaced. A [soddaine cry and alarme of perill hath, as *Berecinthia's* horne, drowne[d all their sweete musicke, or else a blast of winde disordered Sibilla's le[aues. His very wisdom is the first thing that flies. His spiritts tha[t sate together in counsel in his braine are gone to succor his h[earth: and therewith he is] lefte abandoned to his perills by the treason of [his judgement.

his wisdom could haue tould him h  
in the face while he consid

*Theise be good innocent things.  
Compare *Negative istae virtutes non placent; nam innocentiam praestant, non merita.*—DE AUGMENTIS, LIBER SEXTUS, xxii.*

*the vertue of action. Compare *Amo virtutes quae excellentiam actionis inducunt, non hebetudinem passionis.*—DE AUGMENTIS, LIBER SEXTUS, xxii.*

*pill = peril.*

*(The MS. is imperfect, several lines destroyed.)*

*understandings.* This word omitted by the original transcriber is inserted above the line in a later hand.

*mocios* = movements.

*looketh thorough . . . that perill.* Compare *Qui pericula apertis oculis intuetur ut excipiat, advertit et ut evitet.*—DE AUGMENTIS.

*pteccon* = protection.

*appeale* = accuse. Compare *I appeal you of murder.*—BEN JONSON.

*begūneth* = beginneth.

*devocion* = bidding.

The last few lines which are lost appear to have treated of the value of Temperance without fortitude, and to have begun with an exposure of the weakness of the Stoicism which affects to divest itself of wants by renouncing desires. See the second book of the *Advancement of learning*.

good entertayments to perswade men of the strength of their [understandings], but deceitfull in the execucon and triall. What price then or regard can wisdom carrie, w<sup>ch</sup> tyreth a mans thoughts w<sup>th</sup> forecasting and providing for perills w<sup>ch</sup> neuer come as if it could imbrace all accidents, but when daunger commeth unexpected it leaueth a man in pray to his adventurs! But now lett Prudence, this weak ladie, rauished by euerie inuasion and assault of soddaine daunger, obtaine for her champion and knight, fortitude; and then see how she entertayneth the challenges of fortune. Doth a man flie before he knoweth? or suffer before he feeleth? Noe: but straightwaies the discouerie of the perrill maketh a man more than himself. It awaketh his sences. It quickeneth his mocios. It redoubleth his forces. He looketh thorough & thorough y<sup>t</sup> pill. He taketh hold of euerie light of remedie. He discerneth w<sup>t</sup> must be concluded, w<sup>t</sup> may be differed. He ceaseth not to device for y<sup>e</sup> rest, while he executeth that w<sup>ch</sup> is instant, nor to execute y<sup>e</sup> present while he deuiseth for y<sup>t</sup> to come. But he is allwaies in his owne power, reioycing in the prooffe of himself and wellcoming necessitie. Thus is ffortitude the marshall of thoughts, the armor of the will, & the fort of reason. Lett us turne o<sup>r</sup> consideracon & behold Justice, the sacred vertue, y<sup>e</sup> vertue of refuge, the vertue of Societie. Doth not she also shrowde herself under the ptecccon of ffortitude? Lett a man be abstinent from wrong, exact in duetie, gratefull in obligacon, & yet dismantled & open to feare or dolor, what will ensue? Will not the menace of a tirant make him condemne y<sup>e</sup> innoce[n]t? will not the sence of torture make him appeale his dear[est] frends and that untrulie? But paine hath taught him [a new philosophie. He begneth to be perswaded y<sup>t</sup> it is Justice [to pay tribute to nature, to yelde to the rigor of paine, to be [merciful to himselfe. He would giue others leaue to doe the like by [him: he would forgiue them if they did. So that now his ba[llance, where- w<sup>th</sup> he was wont to weigh out euerie man h[is own, is fallen out of his hands. He is at y<sup>e</sup> devocion of the mig[htiest. His wisdom remayneth w<sup>th</sup> him but as a furie to upbr[aid his weakenesse and increa]se his torment. As for Temper]ance m]agnanimitie and what shall

(The MS. is imperfect, several lines destroyed.)

you cannot submitt yo<sup>r</sup> selfe to the condicions of obtay[n]ing thereof, and therfor fall to despise. Will you affect to be admirab[le]? Will you neither followe others nor spare your selfe? Will you [make yo<sup>r</sup> life nothing but an occasion and censure of others? Oh but [I mean no such matter: no vain glorie: no malignitie: no diffidence: [no censure. I desire but a release from perturbations. I seeke b[ut an euen tenor of minde. I will not use because I will not desir[e. I will not desire because I will not feare to want. Loe we see a [ll these circumstances, all this pparacon, is but to keepe afarr of f[eare and grieve, w<sup>ch</sup> ffortitude reioyceth to challenge & to chase: bu[t when once a feare & greife commeth, such as all men are subiect [unto, if it be a feare & greife w<sup>ch</sup> ariseth not of y<sup>e</sup> destitucon of a pl[easure but y<sup>e</sup> accesse of a disfortune, then what use hath he of his temp[erance? Will he not then esteeme it a great follie y<sup>t</sup> he hath pvided a[gainst heat of sunshine & not of fyre? doth he not take it for a mad[ness to think if a man could make himself impassible of pleasure, he sh[ould make himself at one labor impassible of paine? wheras contrariwi[se it is an introducon to beare stronger greifes, to desire often w<sup>th</sup> [out hauing. But lett ffortitude and strength of minde assist Temperance[, and see what followeth then? a man is able to use pleasures and to spa[re them; to containe himselfe in the entry or greatest downfall an[d to entertaine himselfe euer in pleasure; hauing in prosperitie se[nce of joy, & in adversitie sence of strength. Therefor it is ffortitude [that must help or consumate, or enable all vertues. Of Pleasure no[w lett us inquire, w<sup>ch</sup> being limitted and goued, no sevitie of conceipt [nor harshnes of language shall make, but it is, the blessing of nat[ure, the true marriage of the sences, the feast and holliday of this o<sup>r</sup> [work-day and unquiett life. Onelie lett men discerne the psent sign[al and want of nature from the bayte of affeccion, let them discerne [that which is pleasant in the some and totall from that w<sup>ch</sup> is pleasant [at y<sup>e</sup> moment. N]ow what true and sollid pleasure can there b[e where feare is? Mark] I pray you w<sup>t</sup> sporte feare maketh w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> t

f his pleasures & desires. hope he

Evidently some errors in transcription in lines 2 and 3. The meaning is "Will you pretend to despise all that other men value."

euen tenor of minde. Compare *The Stoics were of opinion that there was no way to attain to this even temper of mind but to be senseless.*—LETTER TO THE EARL OF RUTLAND, *Spedding's Bacon*, vol. ii., p. 8.

destitucon = forsaking. This word has been altered by a later writer to *recess*.

against heat of sunshine, etc., that is heat which warms and comforts, but not against heat of fire, which burns and hurts.

able to use pleasures, &c. Compare *Diogenes . . . commended . . . them which sustained, and could refrain their minde, in præcipitio, and could give unto the mind . . . the shortest stop or turne.*—ADV. OF LEARNING.

goued = governed.

of language shall make. Something is omitted here. It probably should read "shall make me doubt, but it is."

The lost lines probably refer to the impossibility of enjoying pleasure without help from fortitude. Compare "*Nil aut in voluptate solidum aut in virtute munitum, ubi timor infestat.*"—DE AUGMENTIS.



A later hand has altered the first line into the singular, viz., "he is as a deare yt is come . . . and stands and feeds."

*pleasures be* has also been altered to *pleasure is*.

In the MS. *to nature* is repeated and struck out, and *so lightlie* is written in the margin as the correction.

*should* is omitted in the MS.

*extreame* seems to be a mistake for "*externe*." The meaning being that the reconciliation of virtue with pleasure answers to the compounding of civil dissensions; the conquest of *externe* or outward evils, to the defeating of foreign enemies.

In the lost lines the speaker seems to have referred to the relief which nature has provided against excess of bodily suffering by inducing insensibility; and that outward evils are made intolerable chiefly by apprehension, and can be overcome by courage and patience.

and fruition of his pleasure, then he is in a maze: he is as deare y<sup>t</sup> come unto an unwonted good pasture, and stand at a gaze, & scantlie feede; so he euer imagineth some ill is hid in euerie good: so as his pleasures be as solid as the sandes, being corrupted w<sup>th</sup> continuall feares and doubtes; and when the pleasure is past then he thinketh it a dreame, a surfait of desire, a false ioye: he is ungratefull to nature: for still the sence of greife printeth so deepe and the sence of delight [so lightlie, as the one seemeth unto him a truth, the other a deceit. Judge then how natie and perfect pleasures are to him to whom expectacon is a racke, enioyng is an amazement, remembrance is a distast & bitternes. Againe w<sup>t</sup> doth somuch encrease and enrich all pleasures as noveltie? but it is a rule that to a fearfull man whatsoever is new is suspect: so as that w<sup>ch</sup> [should] season and enrich pleasures, doth taint and embase them. But now lett us take breath awhile, and looke about if we can see any thing else good in nature. Vertue, the perfeccion of nature; pleasure, the fruit of nature. Is there any thing else? O beautie the ornament of nature. I cannot say that ffortitude will make a crooked man straight, nor a fowle person faire. But this I may say, y<sup>t</sup> feare is the mother of deformitie, and y<sup>t</sup> I neuer saw a man comelie in feare. So it is ffortitude that giueth a grace, a maiestie, a beautie to all accons. But whie doe we staie so long upon the merritts of ffortitude in shewing how it is a protector and benefactor to all y<sup>t</sup> is good, and do not hasten to y<sup>e</sup> conquests & victories thereof? Have we not donne well, because its more meritorious to succor then to subdue, and more excellent [to compound ciuill dissensions then to defeate forraigne enemies]? And therfor now we haue shewed how ffortitude maketh y<sup>e</sup> minde b[ring y<sup>e</sup> workes and accons of vertue to the tast and fruition of pleasur[e, it is time to sett forth what it can doe against those extreame things [called euills. These euills, lett them be mustered. Are they paine of bodie? g[riefe of minde? slaunder of name? scarsitie of meanes? solitude of frendes]? feare of death? Whie none of these are ill w<sup>th</sup> ffortitude, w<sup>ch</sup> can bea [re pain of bodie w<sup>th</sup>out violating the repose of our mindes in themselves or om [itting our care for others. It conditeth them: it taketh away their vene[mous qualitie: it reconcileth them to nature. Lett no man quarr[ell with the decree of providence w<sup>ch</sup> hath included in euerie ill stu] pefaccon of y<sup>e</sup> parts and the weak apprehension and

(The MS. is imperfect, several lines destroyed.)

but it is feare and impatience that are the sergeants of for[tune and do arrest and subdue us to those things, being otherwise freemen: so as [that w<sup>h</sup> doth drawe from men lamentacons, outcries, excess of greife, it is [not y<sup>e</sup> outward enemie, but the inward traitor. Nothing is to be feared but feare [itself. Nothing greivous but to yelde to greife. ffor lett us remember how m[en endued w<sup>th</sup> this vertue ffortitude haue entertayned death, the mightiest of [all enemies. Consider whether it wrought any alteracon in them; whether it h[ath troubled and putt out of frame their ordinarie fashions and behauiours. [I do wonder at the Stoickes, that accompted themselves to hold the masculi[ne vertues, esteeming others se[ctes, delicate, tender and effeminate, w<sup>t</sup> they [sh<sup>d</sup> soe urge and advise men to the meditacon of death. Was not this to incr[ease y<sup>e</sup> feare of death, w<sup>ch</sup> they professed to assuage? Must it not be a terribl[e foe against whom there is no ende of preparacon? Ought they not to haue [taught men to die as if they had liued, and not to liue as though they continua[lly sh<sup>d</sup> die? More manfullie thought the voluptuous se[cte that counted it as [one of y<sup>e</sup> ordinarie workes of nature. But to returne: letts leade about our [consideracon to take veiwe of those w<sup>ch</sup> haue been men of knowen valewe and [courage, and see whether death presented, hath somuch as untuned their ordi[nary fashion of conceipte and custome. *Julius Cæsar*, the worthiest man th[at euer liued, the brauest souldier, a man of the greatest honor, and one that h[ad the most reall and effectuall eloquence that euer man had; not a sounding [and flowing eloquence for a continueate speach, but an eloquence of accon, [an eloquence of affaires, an eloquence that had suppressed a great mutinye [with a single word (*Quirites*), an eloquence to imprint and worke upon any [man y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> he spake. See now whether he varied from himself at his death. The [first wounde that was giuen him on the necke by *Casca*, that stoode behind his [chaire, he turned about and caught hold of his arme: *Traitor Casca wha[t doest thou?* the wordes were but plaine, but yett w<sup>t</sup> could upon studie ha[ue been said more apt to daunte the conspirator and to incite succors? Should [he implore helpe? he would rather haue lost a thousand liues. Should he h[ave cried out? that had ben also an imploring of aide. Should he haue said *wh[*  
*in the temple of the gods?* it was not decent for Cæsar to cl[aime for himself y<sup>t</sup> his person was more venerable then the place. Therfor he [chose a word y<sup>t</sup> was as effectual to invite succors but yet retainde y<sup>e</sup> mai[estie of Cæsar. He] added *Casca*. He was nothing astonished: he singled him out [at once. Who knoweth not, that is any thing skillfull in the weight and [effect of words, that] compellation by name giueth as it were a po[int  
 and penetrate and what

Compare *Martyrs for religion, heathen for glory, some for love of their country, others for affection to one special person, have encountered death without fear, and suffered it without show of alteration.*—LETTER TO THE EARL OF RUTLAND.

wonder at the Stoickes. Compare *The Stoicks bestowed too much cost upon death, and . . . made it appear more fearful.*—ESSAYS.

to live as though they continually should die. Compare *That he which dies nobly doth live for ever, and he that lives in fear doth die continually.*—LETTER TO THE EARL OF RUTLAND.

This hiatus cannot be filled satisfactorily. The problem is to insert words of not more than fifteen letters, such as Cæsar might naturally have uttered, had it not been that they would have implied an assumption that "his person was more venerable than the place."

*ympoining* = probably from the French *empoigner*, to grasp.

This passage compares with BACON'S ESSAY OF DEATH. "How little alteration in good spirits, the approaches of death make. . . Augustus Cæsar died in a complement, 'Livia, conjugii, nostri memor, vive et vale.' Tiberius in dissimulation, as Tacitus saith, 'Jam Tiberium vires, et corpus, non dissimulatio, deserebant.' Vespasian in a jest, sitting upon the stoole, 'Ut puto Deus fio.' . . . Septimius Severus in dispatch, 'Adeste si quid mihi restat agendum.'"

*dicacitie* = raillery and banter.

The missing portion probably contained an anecdote illustrating the same freedom from alteration of demeanour or fear at the immediate prospect of death, in the case of some philosopher of the time of Caligula.

selfe and thy complices. Well, they came about him being unarmed, and as a stagge at bay yett he neuer ceased to putt himself in defence ympoining of their weapons and all the means of an unarmed man. A forme excellentlie well becomming a militarie man, though he knew it would not helpe. At last when Marcus Brutus gaue him a wounde, (*and thou my sonne*). Noble Cæsar, he had no weapon to wounde Brutus againe, but this word wounded, this word perced him, this word enchannted him, this worde made him euer dispaire of a finall good successe of the warr, although the cause was iust and his proceeding at the first prosperous. This word inspired him once at his birthday, when his affaires stode in most prosperous termes, to breake out causeles into this verse: *at me sors misera et Latonæ perdidit infans*. This word turned it self afterwarde into the likenes of an ill spiritt that appeared unto him in his tent. In the ende when his strength failed him, yett he tooke an honorable regard to fall in comelie manner, and couered after the manner of the apparell of that tyme. So as that complement, that point of honor, w<sup>ch</sup> it had ben much for a ladie to have remembred, unto whom modestie and honor of pson were *summu bonu*, so great a monarch, so great a captaine, in so strong and violent an assault, forgott not, at the pointe of death. *Augustus Cæsar* his nephew, a man nothing of that strength and corrage, but of greates assurance and serenitie of mynd, he that by the caulmes and repose of his countenance had appalled a barbarous conspirator, he that would euer wishe himself *Euthanasiam*; in summe, a daintie and a fine man; was he not the same man at his ende? *Livia* beare in mind our marriadg, *liue and farewell*, a farewell at length for a large absence. *Vespasian*, a man exceedinglie giuen to the humor of dicacitie and iesting, his last words were, *If I be not much deceyued I am upon the point to be made a god*. [Scof[fing at death, at himself, and at the times. *Seuerus* (*Septimius* I me[ane]) a man of infinite pursuite of accion and dispatch (*if there be any[thing for me to doe]*) and further he could not goe. The like wordes he [would haue used if he had ben but going to sleepe. *Socrates*, that w[ould neuer affirme any thing, in his last wordes to the iudges said (*It [is now time to conclude, that I may be dismissed to dye and you to liue. but [wh] for the best knowes Jupiter*). He lefte not his Ironye, for himse[lf had told his opinion to his frendes before. So the Romaine

delyghted so much in the inquisition of the truth  
by comaundment of Caius Cali[gula]  
t to person and dis

(The MS. is imperfect, several lines destroyed.)

So that by all these examples it appeareth, how ffortit[ude doth arme men's mynds in such sort that euerye strictt habitt or fashion [is stronger than feare of death or sence of his approches. Neyther will I so m[uch disparage the praise of this noble vertue ffortitude, that I make it the [glorie and the principall coate of honor thereof to oucome the feare of death[: seeing that barbarous customes, false superstitions, violent passions, are a[ble to do as much. But all these doe it as madnes sometimes doth it; th[ey expell one Tirant by another; but they leaue not the minde in entire [possession, y<sup>t</sup> is the onelie worke of ffortitude: other vertues deliuer us fr[om y<sup>e</sup> rule of vices, but ffortitude alone deliuereth us from the servitude [of fortune.

*A. Your speache were able to warme the harte of a coward: for eyther it [w<sup>d</sup> put courage into him, or else yf nothing could prevaile w<sup>th</sup> him but feare, yett it [w<sup>d</sup> make him more afraid of feare it selfe then of any perill. C. he deserueth to be [speech. A. Letts heare what you will deserue.*

*The praise of Loue.*

My praise shalbe dedicated to the happiest state of the minde; to [the eleuacon of mynde to the noblest affeccion. The vertues are m[oderators: they are lawes of the mynde; they restraine it, they limitt it, they [gouern it, they amplifie it not. They are as the mill when it is sett uppon a ry[ch stone: heere it grindeth out a race & there a graine, to make it weare m[ore faire: but in the meane while the stone looseth caraques, leaseth substan[ce. So w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> vertues; they pollyshe the mynde, they make it w<sup>th</sup>out blemishe, they [giue it excellent forme; but commonly they take of much of the naturall [vigour: They be the affections w<sup>ch</sup> make the mynde heroicall, that giues [it power to exceede it selfe, and to fastinate and binde others. Doe we not [see that no agilitie of bodie, no sleight nor practize, can bring a man to doe [that w<sup>h</sup> sometimes feare or fury makes him doe? In the melting of an h[orse-shoe can a mightie dead fyre doe as much as a small fyre blowne? I[n shaping mettalls, can a mightie huge weight doe as much as the blowe of [a hammer? It is motion therfor that animateth all things: it is vaine to think [that any strength of nature can counteruaile a violent mocon. The affe[ccons are the motions of the minde: the vertues pray in ayde of the affecc[ons. Fearing and wondering is the life of prudence. Modestie is the life o[f temperance. Indignacon the life of ffortitude. All vertues take meas

power and strength from the affecons. Therfor  
happines and height of mynde. but  
ert the true steppes of

*other vertues deliver us from the rule of vices. Compare Cetera virtutes nos a dominatu liberant vitiorum. fortitudo sola a dominatu fortunæ. — DE AUGMENTIS, LIBER SEXIUS, XXI.*

It is difficult to suggest words short enough for this hiatus. Crowned for his would occupy too much room.

*grindeth out a race. Mr. ALDIS WRIGHT suggested this should read an ice. Compare And therefore men are to imitate the wisdom of jewellers; who, if there be a graine, or a cloud, or an ise which may be ground forth without taking to much of the stone, they help it, if it should lessen and abate the stone to much, they will not meddle with it — ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING, 1605, p. 75.*

*(The MS. is imperfect, several lines destroyed.)*

for as for the other affecons they be but sufferinge of nature: they seeke rannsomes and rescues from that w<sup>ch</sup> is evill, not enioyeng an union w<sup>th</sup> that w<sup>ch</sup> is good: they seeke to expell that w<sup>ch</sup> is contrarie, not to attract that w<sup>ch</sup> is agreeable. Feare and greife, the traitors of nature; bashfullnes, a thraldom to euerie man's concept and countenance; pittie, a confederacie w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> miserable; desire of a reuenge, the supplieng of a wounde; all theise they endeavor to keepe the maine stocke of nature, to preserue her from losse & diminucon. But loue is a pure gaine and advancem<sup>t</sup> in nature; it is not a good by comparrison, but a true good; it is not an ease of payne, but a true purchase of pleasures; and therfor when our mindes are soundest, when they are not as it were in sicknes and therfor out of tast, but when we be in prosperitie, when we want no thing, then is the season the opportunitie and the spring of loue. And as it springeth not out of ill, so is it not entermixt w<sup>th</sup> ill: it is not like the vertues w<sup>ch</sup> by a steepe and cragged way conduct us to a plaine, and are hard taske-m<sup>rs</sup> at first, and after giue an honorable hyre; but the first aspect of loue and all that followeth is gracious and pleasant. And now to you sir that somuch commende vertue ffortitude, and therein cheiflie commended it because it doth enfranchise us from the tyrannies of fortune, yett doth it not in such perfecon as doth loue. For ffortitude<sup>indeede</sup> strengtheneth y<sup>e</sup> mynd, but it giueth it no feeling, it leaueth it emptye, it ministreth unto it no apt contemplacon to fix it self uppon that it may the more easilie be directed from the sence of dolours, and thats the reasons w<sup>ch</sup> you would in no wise admitt to be competitors w<sup>th</sup> ffortitude in this honor (as barbarous customes and false superstitions do this notw<sup>th</sup>standing more easilie and effectuellie then that vertue. Butt loue doth so fill and possesse all the powers of the minde as it sweetneth the harshnes of all deformities. Lett no man feare y<sup>e</sup> yoke of fortune that's in the yoke of loue. W<sup>t</sup> fortune can be such a He[r]cules as shalbe able to ouercome two? When two soules are ioyned in one, wh[en] one hath another to deuide his ffortune w<sup>th</sup>all, no force can depress<sup>her</sup> him. Therfor since loue hath not<sup>her</sup> seate in ill as haue other affecons; since [it hath no part in ill as vertue hath the beginnyng; synce it admitteth n[o sense of ill and therin excelleth ffortitude; now lett us see whether it [be not as rych in good as exempt in ill? Now therfor will I teache louers to [loue, y<sup>t</sup> haue all this while loued by roate. I will giue them the Alphabet [of loue. I will shew them how it is spelled. For this is a principle, y<sup>e</sup> nature [of man is compound and full of multiplicitye, so as it is not somuch any simple pleasure that affecteth as the co

ffirme then and that trulie (that it

*then is the season . . . and the spring of love. Compare This passion hath his floods in the very times of weakness; which are great prosperitie, and great adversitie; though this latter hath been less observed. Both which times kindle love and make it more fervent.—ESSAY OF LOVE.*

*.commend virtue probably should read commend the virtue.*

*directed, query diverted.*

*thats the reasons. This sentence probably should read And that's the reason that barbarous custom and false superstitions, which you would in no wise admit to be competitors with fortitude in this honor, do this notwithstanding more easily and effectually than that virtue.*

*Hercules. Compare Ne Hercules quidem contra duos.*

*The lost lines apparently referred to the appetite of the human mind for variety, as shown in the taste for travel, adventure, news, etc.*

*(The MS. is imperfect, several lines destroyed.)*

verie generallie in peregrinacons to straunge countries, [in doing unwonted accions, listening after newes, gaines of chaunce, w[ith the like particulers. This delight doth also winde it selfe like a [serpent into their affecons, in such sorte as few delights have grace lon[g, unless this commendeth them to the apprehencon. Now therfor loue is [a fountain of curiositie, a most sweet ground sett w<sup>h</sup> infinite changes, a [journey of strangest and most various adventurers. I demaunde in loue w<sup>t</sup> [are all these mutacons by absences, theise redintegracons by unkindnesses, t[hese surprises by alteracon of attyre and change of presences, but as it w[ere changes uppon this stopp? But aboue all others, newe meritt and dem[aund on affection is the gratefulest noueltie: and it is not onelie the va[riety of y<sup>e</sup> knowledge that pleaseth, but the certaintie. For assuredlie no p[erson ever saw at any time the minde of another, but in loue. Loue is the one[ly passion y<sup>t</sup> opens the harte. So as wee see w<sup>t</sup> rich tribute, curiositie and des[ire of noueltie pay unto loue: being indeed, if not the h<sup>y</sup>est, yett the swee[test affection of all others. Now turne we o<sup>r</sup> veiw uppon ambition; an aff[eccon potent and generall. Dionisius, when he was chased from his tiran[nie, became a Pedantius: a child will lord it ouer his dog and bird. Is not [ambition so mightie as it infecteth the sence? haue we not heard of *ambit[iosæ cænæ*,] when men desire not the meate of the best tast but y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> is de[arest to buy or hardly procured; not unlike the receipt *Aurum potabile*? Con[trariwise is not loue a gaole of ambition, a perfecon of commaundm<sup>t</sup>, inclu[ding not onelie the commandm<sup>t</sup> of the person but of the will? Do we not s[ee y<sup>t</sup> in populer states. Ambition is most sweet, because honor is more vo[luntarie? Do we not obserue how the *Heresiarchæ* and beginners of sectes, m[aking it their *summu bonu* to raigne in mens myndes, are therfor iustlie ca[lled *stupratores mentium*, the deflowrers of understandings? So that as it is [y<sup>e</sup> disease of such extrauagant and straung spiritts to seeke a comaundem<sup>t</sup> ouer reasons & beleefes, so it is naturall in man to aspire to comaundem<sup>t</sup> of minds and especiallie of affecons and willes. Another delight ministr[ed unto the nature of man by this condicon is to haue such as may be com[panions unto him. Many are the greifes and diseases wherto mens states are [subject; the verie representacon of them by foresight doth disrelli[sh their present prosperities. But then when one forseeth w<sup>h</sup>all, that to his m[anie griefes cannot be added sollitude, but that he shall haue a partner [to beare y<sup>m</sup>, this quieteth the mind. A further inward and deepe affecon [proper to y<sup>e</sup> mind of m]an, is the continewing and if it myght be the perpet[uation of his stocke, being] the common and naturall desire of children

favorites and co

gaines probably games.

adventurers probably adventures.  
redintegracons = restorations.

The missing words might probably be dem[onstrat[i]on of affec[t]ion, but there is not room for so many letters in the space.

*Heresiarchæ*. This word seems to have been coined by Bacon. The earliest uses of it noted in the *New English Dictionary* are dated 1624 and 1638.

willes. The word *natures* has been struck out and *willes* inserted.

In the lost portion the speaker seems to have referred to the pleasure men take in seeing their merits reflected in the opinions of others; whence the delight of princes in favourites.

(The MS. is imperfect, several lines destroyed.)

enderred = recent.

One said well, etc. Compare  
For whereas it hath been  
well said, that the arch-  
flatterer, with whom all the  
petty flatterers have intelli-  
gence, is a man's self; cer-  
tainly the lover is more. For  
there never was proud man  
thought so absurdly well of  
himself as the lover doth of  
the person loved; and, there-  
fore, it was well said, "That  
it is impossible to love and  
to be wise."—ESSAY OF  
LOVE.

languishing and weariness.  
Compare Vita sine pro-  
posito languida et vaga est.  
—ADVANCEMENT OF  
LEARNING, 1605, p. 73.

pposicons = propositions.

represented to his imagination  
has been written over  
again and struck out with  
the pen.

taking a hie and comfortable impression of a mans self from the admiracon and enderred estimation of others. Was not flatterie euer in grace? but there is no flatterie like that of a loue. One said well that a man's selfe was the Archflatterer, but he should haue excepted his loue: for the proudest man that euer was neuer thought so well of him as the loue thin- keth of the person loved. Consider againe the delighte of concurrence in desire w<sup>th</sup>out emulation. If two be but sett at one game they loue, or labor togeath<sup>r</sup> in some one work or invention, marke how well pleased, how well disposed, how contented they be. So then if mindes are sharpened against mindes, as Iron is against Iron, in euerie accon, what shall we thinke of that union & coniuncon of mindes w<sup>ch</sup> loue worketh? W<sup>t</sup> vigor, what alacritie, must it giue. Behold fur- ther the nature of the minde of man. It is everie man's observacon, y<sup>t</sup> remission and relaxacon of minde is a most necessarie part of life. It is noted also that absolute Idlenes and leysure when the mind is altogeaether w<sup>th</sup>out obiect is but languishing and wearines. How precious then is loue w<sup>ch</sup> is the sweetest repose from trauailes and affaires, and the sweetest employm<sup>t</sup> in leysure & Idlenes. So as in one respect it is like the earth *Anteus*, in the other it is like *Penelopes* webb w<sup>ch</sup> entertaineth time and putteth of expectacon. For it is not an ill commendation to say y<sup>t</sup> loue is an idle mans occupation: but it catcheth the busiest. Can a tirant be idle the first yeare of his usurpacon? See *Appius & Virginia*. Could the state and enleagued enemie of Octavius Cæsar want w<sup>t</sup> to thinke? See *Anto- nie and Cleopatra*. So it is not the fruite of idlenes but the remedie. Lastly to leaue where loue beginneth, who discerneth not y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> eye is the most affecting sence? They be tales y<sup>e</sup> pposicons to the contrarie. The humor of melancholie importu- neth those y<sup>t</sup> are oucome w<sup>th</sup> it w<sup>th</sup> the memorie of the most affecting dislike. Con- ferr w<sup>th</sup> one that is entering to be mellancholie; shall you heare him complayne of harsh soundes or odious fauors represented to his imagination?

Noe, but allwaies meditating of fearefull and disliking formes. Who denieth but the eye is first contented in loue, being fed and feasted by fre[sh] portionables and decent mocons? Therfor if all delights of sence aff[ect] loue if y<sup>e</sup> understanding be tributarie to loue, if loue offereth the sweetest con[tentment] to him that desireth to know, the exactest commaundm<sup>t</sup> to him that [desireth to rule, the comfortablest promise to him that looketh into his fortune, [the surest hope to him that seeketh to suruiue himself, the most flattering glasse to [him that loueth to view him <sup>self</sup> w<sup>th</sup> aduantage, the greatest union of minde to him y<sup>t</sup> [desireth y<sup>e</sup> most refreshing repose from accon, the most acceptable entertayn[m<sup>t</sup> to him y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>d</sup> offer y<sup>e</sup> most pleasing obiect to the most imprinting sence: Let us m[ake] our suit to loue, that gathereth the beames of so many pleasures into flame the sowle, and letts conclude that the

(The MS. is imperfect, several lines destroyed.)



A. I was thinking what you did deserue; and hearing you speake so [wiselie of loue y<sup>t</sup> is of y<sup>t</sup> nature as a man cannot well tell who should knowe it [best, he y<sup>t</sup> hath tryed it or he that hath not tryed it, I thought you deserued a pat[ent that hath ben graunted but seldome, and that is *Amare et sapere*. he had re[quited his ladies fauor. but heere sitteth one as if he neither gaue much [eare nor meant to speake. D. I was neuer niggard of myne eare but I would [gladlie spare my speache. A. The wrong were not to us but to y<sup>t</sup> you hono[r, if now you shall deceaue it of your praise and celebracon.

he had requited, etc. Probably this remark is interjected by speaker B or C, otherwise the transition from the second to the third person is unaccountable.

*The praise of knowledg.*

D. Silence were the best celebracon of that w<sup>ch</sup> I meane to com[mend; for who would<sup>not</sup> vse silence there where silence is not made, and what [cryer can make silence in such a noyse and tumult of vaine and populer opin[ions? My praise shalbe dedicate to the mynd itselfe. The mind is the man, an [d knowledg mind. A man is but what he knoweth. The minde it self is but an acc[ident to knowledg. ffor knowledge is a double of y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> is. The truth of bei[ng and y<sup>e</sup> truth of knowing is all one. Are the pleasures of the affecons great[er then y<sup>e</sup> pleasures of the sences, and are not the pleasures of the intellect gre[ater then the pleasures of the affecons? Is not that onelie a true and na[tural pleasure whereof there is no sacietie? Is not that knowledg alone [that doth clear the mind of all perterbacons? How many things be there w<sup>ch</sup> we [imagine are not? how many things do we esteeme and valew more then<sup>they</sup> a[re. These vaine imaginations, these ill proportioned estimations, these be the [clowdes of error, that tourne into the stormes of perturbacons. Is there then [any such happines as for a mans minde to be raised aboue the confusion [of things, where he may haue a respect of the order of nature and the er[rer of men? Is there but a view onelie of delight and not of discouerie? of c[ontentm<sup>t</sup>, and not of benifitt? shall we not discerne<sup>as well</sup> the riches of natures wa[rehouse as the beautie of her shopp? Is truth barren? shall we not therby [be able to produce worthy effects and to endow the life of man w<sup>th</sup> infinit[e commodities? But shall I make this garland to be put vpon a wrong [head? Would any man beleue me if I should verifie this vpon the [knowledge that is now in vse? Are we the richer by one poore invention by [reason of all the learning that hath ben this many hundred yeares? The in[dustrie of artificers maketh some smale improuments of things invent[ed, and chance sometimes in experimenting makes vs stumble vpon somew<sup>t</sup> th[at is new. But all the] disputations of the learned neuer brought to lyg[ht one effect of nature before] unknowen. When things are knowen and found [out, then they can descant upon them: they can knitt them into certain causes: they can reduce them to their principles. If any instance of experience stand against them, they can range it in order by some distinctions. But all this is but a web of the wit: it can worke nothing. I do not dowbt but that common notions which we call reason, and the knitting of them together which we call]

The letter D is inserted in the margin in a later hand, *not* is inserted in a later hand.

Compare JOB, chap. ii., vv. 5-6: But oh that God would speak and open his lips against thee; and that he would shew thee the secrets of wisdom, that they are double to that which is.

these struck out in the MS.

a respect. The other MS. has *prospect*, which is the form of the word used by Bacon in later years. It is used by him nearly in the same sense in the speech of the first counsellor of the Prince of Purpoole, circa 1593, who says, "in your later years you shall find a sweet respect into the adventures of your youth," using the word as we now use retrospect = looking back upon. The word here means "looking down upon." See Bacon's quotation from Lucretius, p. 44, Book I. of THE ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING, 1605.

The lost words throughout this speech and the next are supplied from a transcript in the British Museum, *Harleian Manuscripts*, No. 6797.

Logique or the arte of reason, may haue vse in popular studies, but they rather cast obscuritie then giue light to the contemplacon of nature. All the Philosophie of nature w<sup>ch</sup> is now receaued is eyther the Philosophie of the Gretians or that other of the Alchimists. That of the Grecians hath the foundation in words, in ostentation, in confutacon, in sectes, in Auditories, in schooles, in disputacons. The Gretians are, as one of them saith, *you Gretians euer children*. They knew little antiquitie. They knew (except fables) not much aboue 500 yeares before themselues. They knew but a smale porcon of the world. That of the Alchimists hath the foundation in imposture, in auriculer tradicons, and obscuritie. It was catching holde of religion, but the best principle of it is *populus vult decipi*: so as I knowe no great difference betweene theise great Philosophers, but that the one is a loude crieng follie, the other a whispering folly: the one is gathered out of a few vulgar obseruacons, and the other out of a few experim<sup>s</sup> of the furnace: the one neuer faileth to multiplie words and the other ofte faileth to multiplie gold. Who would <sup>not</sup> smile at Aristotle, when he admireth y<sup>e</sup> eternitie and inuariablenes of the heaves, as if there were not the like in the bowells of the earth. They be the confines and borders of theise 2 great kingdomes, where the continewall alteracons and incursions are. The superficies and vpper part of y<sup>e</sup> earth is full of varietie, the supficies and lower parte of the heauens w<sup>ch</sup> we call the middle region of the ayre, is full of varieties. There is much spiritt in the one place w<sup>ch</sup> cannot be brought into masse, there is much massie bodie in the other place w<sup>ch</sup> cannot be refinde into spiritt: the comon ayre is as the wast ground betweene the borders. Who would not smile at the Astronomers, I meane not theise new car men w<sup>ch</sup> driue the earth about, but the auncient Astronomers, y<sup>t</sup> faine the moone to be y<sup>e</sup> swiftest of the planets in mocon, and y<sup>e</sup> rest in order, the hier the [slower, and so are compelled to imagine a dooble mocon, whereas how euiden [t is it y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> they call a contrarie mocon is but an abatement of moc[on. The fixed starres ouergoe Saturne, and Saturne leaueth behind him J[upiter, and so in them and the rest all is but one mocon, and the nearer the [earth y<sup>e</sup> slower. A mocon also whereof the aire and the water do participate t[hough much interrupted. But whie do I in a conference of pleasure enter [into these great matters in sort that pretending to knowe much I should know [not season? Pardon me, it was because almost all things may be indued [and adorned w<sup>th</sup> speaches, but] knowledge it self is more beautifull the[n any apparel of wordes y<sup>t</sup> can be putt uppon it. And lett me not seeme arrogant w<sup>th</sup>owt respect to these great reputed authors. Lett me so giue everie man his due, as I giue time his due, which is to discouer truth. Manie of these men had greater wittes, farre aboue mine owne, and soe are manie in the Universities of Europe at this day.]

heaves = heavens.

refinde is interlined, the word brought was first written and then struck out.

should know not season. There is a difference of readings here, which causes a difficulty. The Museum MS. has "in sort that pretending to know much, I should forget what is seasonable." In this MS. the words are distinctly written I should know, and there is only room on the lost portion for 16 or 18 letters at most. The word me in the next line implies some verb preceding it, and the authority of the other MS. makes pardon the most likely.

But alas they learne nothing there but to beleue. ffirst [to beleue that others know that w<sup>ch</sup> they knowe not; and after [themselves know y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> they knowe not. But indeede facilitie to beleue, impat[ience to doubt, timeritie to asseuer, glorie to knowe, doubt to contradict, en[d to gain, sloth to search, seeking things in wordes, resting in a part of natur[e, these and the like haue ben in things w<sup>ch</sup> haue forbidden the happie ma[tch between y<sup>e</sup> minde of man and the nature of things, and in place therof ha[ue married it to vaine nocions and blynde experim<sup>ts</sup>. And what the posteritie [and issue of so honorable a match may be, it is not harde to consider. Printing, [a gross invention; Artillerie, a thing not farr out of the way; the needle, [a thing partly knowne before: w<sup>t</sup> a chaunge haue these 3 made in the world [in these times, the one in the state of learning, the other in the state of the [warre, the thirde in the state of treasure, commodities and nauigation. [And these were as I say but stumbled vpon and lighted on by chaunce. Therfor [no doubt the soueraingtye of man lieth hid in knowledge, wherein many [things are reserued w<sup>ch</sup> kings w<sup>th</sup> their treasure cannot buy, nor w<sup>th</sup> th[eir force commaund: their spies and intelligencies can giue no newes of [them: their seamen and discouerers cannot saile where they grow. Now [we governe nature in opinions but are thrall to her in necessities. But if [we would be led by her inuention we should command her in accon.

*asseuer = assert.* The Museum MS. has *answer*.  
*resting in a part.* The Museum MS. omits the *a*.  
*haue ben in things.* The Museum MS. reads *have been the things*, but Mr. Spedding thinks both readings are incorrect.  
*match may be.* The word *be* is inserted by another hand.

A: *This speache deserueth to be understood.* B: *now S<sup>r</sup> you [that first made this mocion: I wishe you no greater reuenge, but th[at one of vs 3 had intercepted your choise.* A: *that were smale r[euenge; for then I would be silent.* B: *that were against your owne [comaund. but I should smile to see you put to goe ouer the same ma[tter.*

*The praise of his Soueraigne.*

No praise of magnamitie, nor of loue, nor of knowledg, can in[tercept her praise y<sup>t</sup> planteth and norrisheth magnanimitie by her exam[ple, love by her person, and knowledge by the peace and serenitie of her tim[es. And if these rich peeces be so faire vnsett, w<sup>t</sup> are they sett? and sett in [all perfeccon? Magnanimitie no doubt consists in contempt of perrill, [in contempt of profit,] and in merriting the times wherein we liue. [For contempt of perrill, see a Ladie,] that cometh to the crowne [after the experience of some aduers fortune, which for the most part extenuateth the minde and maketh it apprehensie of feares. No sooner she taketh the scepter into her sacred handes, but she putteth on a resolution to make the greatest, the most important,]

*merriting the times.* The British Museum MS. reads *merriting of the times*.

the most daungerous alteracon that can be in a state, the alteracon of religion. This she doth, not after a soueraigntie establisht & continewed by sundrie yeares, when custome might haue bred in her people a more absolute obedience, when triall of her seruants might haue made her more assured whom to employ, when the reputacon of her pollicie and vertue might haue made her gouern<sup>t</sup> more redoubted; but at the verie entrance of her raigne, when she was grene in authoritie, her seruants scant knowen vnto her, the aduerse part not weakened, her owne part not confirmed. Neyther doth she reduce or revnite her realme to the religion of the states about her, that the euill inclinacō of the subiect might be countervailed by the good correspondence in forraigne parts: but contrariwise she introduceth a religion exterminated and persecuted both at home and abroad. Her pceedings herein is not by degrees and by stealth, but absolute and at once. Was she encouraged thereto by the strength she found in leagues and alliances w<sup>th</sup> great persons & potent confederates? no, but she found her realme in warres w<sup>th</sup> her nearest and mightiest neighbors: she stode single and alone, in league onelie w<sup>th</sup> one, that after her people had made his warres, lefte her to make her owne peace; one that could neuer by any sollicitacon be moued to renew the treaties, and one that since hath pceeded from doubtfull termes of amitie to the hiest acts of hostilitie. Yet notw<sup>th</sup>standing all this, the opposition so great, the support so weake, the season so vnproper, yet I say because it was a religion wherein she was nourished and brought vp, a religion that freed her subiects from pretence of forraigne powers, and indeed the true religion, shee brought to passe this great worke w<sup>th</sup> successe aunswereable to so noble a resolution. See againe a Q[ueene that <sup>when</sup> a deepe and secreat conspiracie was plotted against her sac[red] pson, practized by subtile instrum<sup>ts</sup>, embraced by violent and desperate [humors, bound and strengthened by vowes and sarcam<sup>ts</sup>, and the same was [revealed vnto her, and yet the nature of the affaires required fur[ther ripening before the apphension of any of the pties, was content [to put herselfe in garde of the divine pvidence and her owne prudence, [to have some of the conspirato<sup>rs</sup> in her eye, to suffer them to ap[proach to her pson, to take a peticon of y<sup>e</sup> hand y<sup>t</sup> was coniured for her d[eath; and that w<sup>th</sup> such ma<sup>tie</sup> of countenance, such mildnes and serenitie [of gesture, such art and imp]ression of wordes, as had ben suffici[ent to have repress and bound the hand of a conspirator if he had not been discouered. Lastly see a Queene that when her realme was to haue been invaded by an armie, the preparation whereof was like the travel of an Elephant,]

*reunite her realme.* The MS. reads *revince her realme.*

*pceedings.* This is in the plural in the MS., although it is followed by a verb in the singular.

*amitie.* This word may be *amities.* The final letter appears to have been inserted by another hand.

*subtile.* This is a correction, the word was written *subble.*

*travel* = travail.

the prouisions infinite, the setting forth wherof was the [terror and wonder of Europe; it was not seene that her cheare, her fash[on, her ordinary manner, was anie thing altered: not a cloude of that s[torme did appeare <sup>in that countenance</sup> wherein peace doth euer shine. But w<sup>th</sup> excellent ass[urance and advised securitie she inspird her counsell, animated her nobilitie, re[doubled y<sup>e</sup> courage of her people; still having this noble apphension not onelie [that she would communicate her fortune w<sup>th</sup> them, but y<sup>t</sup> it was she that [w<sup>d</sup> protect them, and not they her; w<sup>ch</sup> she testified w<sup>th</sup> no lesse demonstrati[on then her psence in campe. Therfor that magnanimitie that neith[er feareth greatnes of alteracon, nor the vowes of conspirato<sup>rs</sup> nor th[e power of enemies, is more then heroicall. For contempt of pfitt, [consider her offers, consider her purchases. She hath raigned in a [most populous and welthie peace, her people greatelie multiplied, welth[ily appointed, and singularlie deuoted. She wanted not the examples of [the power of her armies in the memorable voyages and inuasions prosper[ously made and atchieued, by sundrie her noble progenito<sup>rs</sup>. She hath [not wanted ptences as well of claime and right, as of quarrell and reu[enge. She hath raigned during the minorities of some of her neighbo<sup>r</sup> [princes, and during the facons and divisions of their people vpon deepe and [irreconcilable quarrells, and during the embracing greatnes of some on[e that hath made himself as weake thorough to much burthen, as others [are through decaie of strength. And yett see her sitting w<sup>th</sup>in the compas[se of her sands. Scotland that doth in a manner ecclipse her Island, the vnited [provinces of the lowe Countries, w<sup>ch</sup> for scite, wealth, comoditie of traffiq[ue, affection to our nacion, were most meete to be annexed to this Crowne, [she left the possession of the one and refused the soveraingtie of the other. [So that notwithstanding y<sup>e</sup> greatnes of her meanes, the iustice of her prete[nces, and the rarenes of opportunities, she hath continewed her first [mynde: she hath made the possessions she receyued the limitts of her dominion, [and the world the limitts of her name, by a peace that hath stained all victories. For her meritt, who doth <sup>not</sup> acknowledge that she hath ben as a [star of most fortunate influence vpon the adge whereon she hath shine[d? Shall we speake] of merritts of clemencie or merritts of benefic[ence? Where shall a man take] the most proper and naturall [tryal of her royal clemencie? Will it best appeare in the injuries that were done unto her before she attayned the crowne? or after she is seated in her throne, or that the commonwealth is incorporated in her person, then clemencie]

*in that countenance.* These words are inserted in the margin in the hand of the original transcriber

Compare "Now (as you have heard before) the campe in this meane time, being kept at Tilbury in Essex, under the charge of the erl of Leicester L. Steward, &c.; the 9 of August, hir Majesty repaired thither, where at the whole campe being set in order of battell, both horse and footemen, she passed through every ranke of them, to their great comfort and rejoycing, and was lodged that night and the night next following, in the house of Master Edward Rich, a justice of the shire, in the parish of Hornedon." — Stow.

*adg.* This has been struck out by a later hand and age written above.

Probably a line or clause is missing at the end of this page.

*of the wrongs.* The word of  
is struck out.

*princes should not neglect.*  
This clause reads in the  
Museum MS. *that princes  
should not neglect (that the  
commonwealth's wrong is  
included in themselves), etc.*

*deuorsing* = divorcing.

*coosenages* = cheatings.

*myne* = mint.

is drawn in question as a daungerous incounter betweene Iustice & pollicie. And therfor who did euer note that she did rescent after she was established in her kingdome of the wrongs done in her former state? Who doth not remember how she reuenged the rudenes and rigor of her Jailer by a worde? and that not bitter but salte, and such as shewed rather the excellencie of her wit, then any impression of the wrong. Yea and farther, it is not too manifest, that since her raigne, notw<sup>th</sup>standing that principle *that princes should not neglect the commonwealthes wronges included in themselues*, yett when it is question of drawing the sworde, there is euer a conflict betweene the iustice of her place, ioyned w<sup>th</sup> the necessitie of her estate, and her owne royall clemecie, w<sup>ch</sup> as a soueraigne and precious balme continuallie distilleth from her faire handes, and falleth into the woundes of manie that haue incurred the offence of her lawes. Now for her beneficence, what kinde of persons haue euer breathed during her most happie raigne, but haue had the benifite of her vertues conveyed vnto them? Take a veiwe and consider whether they haue not extended to subiectes, to neighbors, to <sup>remote</sup> straungers, yea to her greatest enemies. For her subiectes, where shall we beginne in such a maze of benifites as presenteth it selfe to our remembrance? Shall we speake of the purging away the drosse of religion, the heauenlie treasure? or that of monies, the earthlie treasure? the greater was touched before and the latter deserueth not to be forgotten. For who knoweth not, that knoweth anie thing in matters of estate, of the greate absurdities and fraudes that arise of the deuorsing y<sup>e</sup> legall estimacon of monie from the generall, and (as I may terme it) naturall estimacon of the mettalls, and againe of the incertaine and wavering valewes of coines, a verie laborinth of coosenages and abuses, and yett such as great [e] princes haue made their proffitt of towards their owne people. Passe [on from the myne to the reuenewes and receiptes, there shall you fynd no [raising of rentes notw<sup>th</sup>standing the alteracon of prizes and the vsage of the [times, but the ouervalewe, besides a reasonable fine, lefte for the releef [of tenants and rewarde of seruantes. No raising of customes notw<sup>th</sup>stand[ing her continuall charges of setting to sea. No extremities taken of for [feiture and penall lawes, a meanes vsed by some kings for the ga[thering of great treasures. A few forfeitures indeede, not taken [to her owne purse but sett ouer to some others for triall onelie whether [gaine could bring these lawes to be well executed, w<sup>ch</sup> the ministers [of justice did neglect. But] after it was founde that onelie com[passions were used, and the law nev<sup>r</sup> the nerer the execution, the course was straight suppressed and discontinued. Yea there have been made laws more than one in her time for the restraunte of the vexation of informers and promoters: naye, a course

[taken by her own direction for the repealing of all heave and snared laws, if it had not bene crossed by those to whom the benefit should have redounded. Ther shall you finde, no new taxes, impositions nor devyces; but the benevolence of the subject freely offred by assent of Parliament according to the ancient rates, and with great moderation in assesment; and not so only, but some new formes of contribution offred likewise by the subject in Parliament; and the demonstration of their devotion only excepted, but the thing never put in ure. Ther shall you finde loanes, but honourable answered and payd as it were the contracte of a private man. To conclude, there shall you find moneys levied upon sales of lands, alienations (though not of the ancient patrimonie) yet of the rich and commodious purchases and perquisites of the Crowne only because she will not be grevous and burthensome to the people. This treasure, soe innocently levied, so honorablye gathered and raysed, with such tendernes to the subject, without any basenes or drynes at all; how hath it bene expended and employed? Wher be the wasteful buildings, and the exorbitant and prodigal donatives, the sumptuous dissipations in pleasures and vaine ostentations, which we finde have exhausted the coffers of so many Kings? It is the honour of her house, the royal remunerating of her servants, the preservation of her people and state, the protection of her suppliants and allies, the encounter, breaking and defeating the enemyes of her realme, that hath bene the only pores and pipes whereby the treasure hath yssued. Hath it bene the sinewes of a blessed and prosperous peace? hath she bought her peace? hath she lent the King of Spain money upon some cavillation not to be repeated? and soe bought his favour? and hath shee given large pensions to corrupt his Counsel? Noe, but shee hath used the most honorable diversion of troubles that canne be in the world. Shee hath kept the fyer from her own walles by seeking to quench it in her neighbors. That poor brand of the state of *Burgundy*, and that other of the crowne of *France* that remayneth, had bene in ashes but for the readie fountaine of her continewall benignitie. For the honor of her house, it is well known that almost the universal manners of the times doth incline to a certain parsimonie and drines in that kind of expence: yet shee retayneth the auncient magnificence, the allowance as full, the charge greater than in time of her father, or anie king before. The bookes appeare, the computation will not flatter. And for the remunerating and rewarding of her servants and the attendance of the Court, let a man cast and some up all the bookes of gifts, fee farmes, leases and custodies that have passed her bountiful hands. Let him consider again what a number of commodious and gainefull offices heretofore bestowed upon men of other education and profession have bene withdrawen and conferred upon her Courte. Let him remember what a number of other giftes, disguised by other names but in effect as good as monie given out of her cofers, have bene granted by her: and he will conclude that her royall minde is farre above her meanes. The other benefits of her politick,]

The leaf containing pp. 19 and 20 is missing from the Northumberland MS. and the text is supplied from the British Museum copy.

*excepted* Probably *accepted*. On March 11th, 1586-7, the House of Commons offered to sanction the collection of a benevolence or voluntary contribution towards the expenses of the war in the Low Countries, which the Queen declined.

*cavillation* = chicanery, trickery, or overreaching sophistry.

*drines* = absence of embellishment. Compare *Their new flowers and sweetness do as much corrupt as others dryness and squalor*.—BEN JONSON'S DISCOVERIES.



*ffr. Bacon of Tribute.*

See note on preceding page.

*humorous* = moody or peevish. Compare as *cantankerous* and *humorous* (in the old Shakesperian sense) as *Cassius himself*.—*L'ESTRANGE'S LIFE OF MISS MITFORD.*

[clement, and gracious government towards the subjects are without number; the state of justice good, notwithstanding the great subtiltie and humorous affections of these times; the securitie of peace greater than can be described by that verse,

*Tutus bos etenim rura perambulat:*

*Nutrit rura Ceres almaque Faustitas:*

or that other

*Condit quisque diem collibus in suis.*

The opulencye of the peace such as if you have respect (to take one signe for manie) to the number of faire houses that have bene built since her raigne. As *Augustus* said that he had receyved the city of brick and lefte it of marble, so shee maye saye shee receyved it a realme of cottages and hath made it a realme of palaces; the state of traffique great and rich: the customes, notwithstanding these warres and interruptions, not fallen: manie profitable trades, manie honorable discoveries: and lastly, to make an end where no end is, the shipping of this realme soe advanced and made soe mighty and potent, as this Iland is become (as the natural scite thereof deserved) the ladie of the sea; a point of soe high consequence, as it may be truly said that the commaundement of the sea is an abridgement or a quintessence of an universal monarchy. This and much more hath shee merited of her subjects: now to set forth the merit of her neyghbors and the states about her. It semeth the tymes have made themselves purveyors of continual newe and noble occasions for her to shewe them benignitie, and that the fyers of troubles abroad have bene ordayned to [be] as lights and tapers to make her vertew and magnanimitie more apparant. For when that one, stranger borne, the familie of *Guise*, being as a hastie weed sprung up in a night, had spred itselfe to a greatnes not civil but seditious; a greatnes, not of encounter of the auncyent nobilitie, not of preheminencie in the favor of kings, and not remisse of affayres from kings; but a greatnes of innovation in state, of usurpations of aucthoritye, of affecting of crownes; and that accordingly under color of consanguinitie and religion they had brought French forces into Scotland, in the absence of their King and Queen being within their usurped tutell: and that the auncient nobilitie of this realme seeing the imminent danger of reducing that kingdom under the tyranny of foreinors and their faction, had according to the good intelligence betwixt the two crownes prayed her neyghbourly succours: shee undertooke the action, expelled the strangers, restored the nobilitie to their degree; and leste anie man should think her intent was to unneastle ill neyghbors, and not to ayde good neygbors, or that shee was readyer to restore what was invaded by others then to render what was in her owne hands. See if the time provided not a newe occasion afterwards, when through their owne devisions (without the intermise of strangers) her forces were again sought and required; shee forsooke them not, prevailed so far as to be possessed of the castell of Edenborough, the principall strength of that kingdome, w<sup>ch</sup> place incontinently, without cunctations or cavillations (the preambles of a wavering fayth) she rendered with all honour and sinceritie; and his person so safe and]

to set forth the merit. Meaning she has merited of her neighbours, not what her neighbours have merited.

this realme should read that realme.

restored the nobilitie. Alluding to the peace concluded in July, 1560.

afterwards, viz., in 1570.

by the King's best and truest servants should follow required.

place. The Museum MS. reads *peace*.

cunctations = delay.

sinceritie. The Museum MS. reads *securitie*.

faithfull handes; and so euer after during his minoritie con[tinewed his principall guardian and protector. In the times betweene theese [two occasyons of Scotland, when the same faccon of Guise, couered still w<sup>th</sup> a pr[etence of religion, and strengthened by desire of retaining govern<sup>t</sup> in the mothe[r] Queene of Fraunce, had raised and moued ciuell warres in y<sup>t</sup> kingdome, [only to extirpate the auncient nobilitie by shocquing them one against ano[ther, and to waste y<sup>t</sup> Realme as the candle that is lighted at both endes, and that [those of y<sup>e</sup> Religion, being neare of the bloude royall and otherwise of the gre[at]est howse in Fraunce, and great officers of the Crowne, opposed the[m]selves only against their insolencie, and to their support called in their [aides, giving vnto them new-*Hauen* for a place of securitie, see w<sup>th</sup> w<sup>t</sup> [alacritye, in tender regard towardes <sup>y<sup>e</sup> fortune of</sup> that young king, whose name was v[is]ed to y<sup>e</sup> supplanting of his owne strength, she embraced the enterprize, [by the support and reputacon whereof the same ptie suddenlie made great pceed[ings and in conclusion made their peace as they would themselves. An[d] although they ioyned themselves against and pfourmed y<sup>e</sup> parts rather of [good patriots then of good confederates, and that after great demonstration [of valour in her subiects (as the French to this daie will reporte), especia[lly by y<sup>e</sup> great mortalitie, and by the hand of god, and the rather bec[ause it is knowen she did neuer much affect the holding of that towne [to her owne vse, it was lefte & her forces w<sup>th</sup>drawen, yett that did [nothing diminishe the merritt of y<sup>t</sup> crowne, and namelie of that ptie, [who recovered by it such strength, as by y<sup>t</sup> and no other thing they subsisted [long after. And least any man should sinisterlie and maliciouslie enterp[ret that she did nourish these diuisions, who knoweth not w<sup>t</sup> faithfull advice, [continual and earnest sollicitacon she vsed by her Embassado<sup>rs</sup> and minister [s to y<sup>e</sup> French ks successiuelie, and to their mother, to moue them to keepe the[ir edicts of Pacificacon and to retaine their owne au[thoritie and gre[atnes by the vnion of their subjects. W<sup>ch</sup> counsell (if it had been as h[appily followed as it was prudentlie and sincerelie given,) Fr[auce had bene at this day a most flourishing kingdome, w<sup>ch</sup> is now a theat[er of miserye. And now at last when the same house of Guise, being one of [the whippes of god (whereof themselves are but y<sup>e</sup> cordes and Spaine y<sup>e</sup> [stocke) had by their infinite aspiring practises wrought y<sup>t</sup> miracle of st[ates, to make a king in possession long established to play againe for his [crowne, without any] title of a competitor, w<sup>th</sup>out any maine inuasion [of a foreine enemye, yea] w<sup>th</sup>out any combinacon in substaunce of any bloud [royall or nobilitie, but onelie by f[urring in audacious persons in [to sondry government, and by making the populace of townes drunke with seditious preachers. And that King Henry the third, awaked by those pressing dangers, was compelled to execute the Duke of Guise without ceremony, and yet nevertheless found the despayre of soe manie persons embarked and engaged in that conspiracye]

*faithfull handes.* A later pen has attempted to improve the sense by altering this to *faithless hands*, and striking out the remainder of the sentence; so giving the opposite meaning to what Bacon intended. The allusion is to the troubles of 1573 following the murder of Murray.

*their aides* should read *her aide*.

*supplanting of his owne strength.* Compare *The Queen's Majesty took unto her protection the French King's subjects in Normandy, being oppressed by the tyranny of the House of Guise, and published a declaration.* — DIARY OF LORD BURGHELEY, Sep. 27, 1562.

*sinisterlie* = sinisterly.

*ks* = kings.

*furring in, etc.* Probably *spurring on audacious persons against his government*.

*death of Guise* has been struck out. The Museum MS. reads *blood of Guise*.

*pserved*. The Museum MS. reads *pserved*.

*treasure*. The first *treasure* has been struck out.

*the offering of Don Ant*. This has been corrected to *her endeavor to settle Don Ant in his fortune*. The allusion is to the expedition against Spain in 1589 under Norris and Drake.

*the hands of her reputacon*. This was in 1590. Compare *The Turk* had not he been prevented by our ambassador, intended to set upon the King of Poland with 60,000 men; but understanding her Majesty had great need of many things from that country necessary for her navy, he withdrew his force, though he were assured of victory; and the Turk himself, hath written to her Majesty, assuring her that if she would write her letters to him to require him, he will make the King of Spain humble himself to her. — LODGE'S ILLUSTRATIONS OF BRITISH HISTORY, Vol. 3, 1791.

*with one charge*. Meaning without incurring any greater charge or danger than already incurred.

*onely by passion*. The Museum MS. reads *upon passion*.

so violent, as the flame thereby was little asswaged, so as he was enforced to implore her aydes and succors, consider how benigne eare & correspondence she gaue to the distressed requests of y<sup>t</sup> king: and he soone after being by the sacrilegious hand of a wretched Jacobine lifted vp against the sacred person of his naturall soueraigne, taken away (wherein not the criminous death of Guise but the innocent bloude w<sup>ch</sup> he had often spilt by the instigacon of him and his howse was revenged,) and y<sup>t</sup> this worthie gent who now raigneth came to the crowne, it will not be forgotten by so gratefull a king nor by so observing an adge, how readie, how opportune and seasonable, how royall and sufficient her succors were, whereby she enlarged him at that time and pserved him to his better fortune. And euer since in these tedious warres wherein he hath to doe w<sup>th</sup> a Hidra or monster with manie heades, she hath supported him w<sup>th</sup> treasure w<sup>th</sup> treasure, w<sup>th</sup> forces, and w<sup>th</sup> employ<sup>t</sup> of one whom she favoereth most. What shall I speake of the offering Don Ant: to his fortune, a deuoted Catholique onely commended vnto her by his oppressed State? What should I speake of the great storme of a mightie inuasion, not in pparacon but in acte by the Turke vpon the king of Poleland, latelie dissipated onely by the hands of her reputacon w<sup>ch</sup> w<sup>th</sup> the grand *Seignior* is greater then that of all the States of Europe put together. But lett me rest upon the honorable and continuall ayde and releife she hath given to the distressed and desolate people of the lowe countries, a people commended vnto her by auncient confederacie and dailie entercourse, by their cause so innocent and their fortune so lamentable. And yett notwithstanding, to keepe the conformitie of her owne pceedings neuer stained w<sup>th</sup> the least noate of ambition or malice, she refused the soveraigntie of diuers goodlie pvinces, offred vnto her w<sup>th</sup> great instance, to haue ben accepted w<sup>th</sup> great contentm<sup>t</sup> both of her owne people and theirs, and iustlie to be deriu[ed either in respect of the hostilitie of Spaine, or in respecte of the cond[itions] liberties and priuiledges of these subiects, and w<sup>th</sup> one charge daung[er] & offence to the king of Spaine and his ptizans: she hath taken vpon her one[ly] their defence and proteccion, w<sup>th</sup>out any further auaille or pffitt vnto he[r]self then the honor and merritt of her benignitie: a people that haue ben [psued by their naturall king onely by passion and wrath in sort that <sup>he hath</sup> according to y<sup>e</sup> proverbe (*aratro iaculari*) consumed his meanes vpon re[venge]. And (having to verifie that w<sup>ch</sup> I haue said, y<sup>t</sup> her merritts haue [extended to her greatest enemies) lett it be remembred w<sup>t</sup> hath passed [in y<sup>t</sup> matter betweene the king of Spaine and her. First how in the [beginning of y<sup>e</sup> troubles there she gaue and imparted to him faithfull and [friendly advice touching y<sup>e</sup> course that was to be taken for the quiet[ing] and appeasing of them. Then shee interposed her selfe to most just and reasonable capitulations, wherein alwayes should have bene preserved unto him as ample interest iurisdiction and superioritie in those countries as he in right could claime, or a Prince well minded would seek to have, and (w<sup>h</sup> is the greatest point)]

she did by her advice, creditt, and pollicie, and all good meane[s intrupt & impeache that the same people by despaire should not vtt[erly alien and distraкте themselues from the obedience of the king of Sp: a[nd cast them selues into the armes of a straunger, insomuch as it is most [true that she did euer dissuade the Duke of Aniou from that accon notw<sup>th</sup> [standing the affeconshe [barey<sup>e</sup>] said Duke and the obstinacie w<sup>ch</sup> she sawe dailie [growing in y<sup>e</sup> king of Sp: Lastlie to touch the mightie and generall merrit [of this Queene beare in mynde that her benignitie hath ben as large [as the oppressi- on and ambition of the Sp: For to beginne w<sup>th</sup> the Church of [Rome, y<sup>t</sup> ptended Apostolicke sea is become but a donative cell of the kyng of [Spayne: the vicar of Christ is become the king of Sp<sup>s</sup> chapleyne: he pteth the com[ing in of the new pope for the treasure of the olde. He was wont to exclude [but some 2 or 3 cardinals, and to leaue the elecon free of the rest. But now h[<sup>e</sup> doth include and present directlie some smale number, all incapable and inc[ompatible w<sup>th</sup> the *Conclaue*, put in onelie for culler, except one or two[. The states of Italie, they be like little quilletts of freeholds lieing interrupte w[ithin a great Lordshipp. ffraunce is turned vpside downe, the sub[ject against the king, cutt and mangled infinitelie: a countrey of Rodam[onts & Roytelets, ffarmers of the warres. Portugall vsurped by no other [title then strength and vicinitie. The lowe countries warrd vpon, because [he seeketh, not to possesse them (for they were possessed by him before) but to p[lant there an absolute and martiall govern<sup>t</sup> to suppress their liberties[: the like at this day attempted vpon Arragon; the poor Indies, wheras [y<sup>e</sup> christian religion generallie brought infranchisem<sup>ts</sup> of slaues where it [came, in a contrarie course<sup>by it men</sup> are brought from free men to be slaues and [slaves of most miserable condicon. The sundrie practises and tyrannies [of this King's ambition in Germanie, Denmarke, Scotlande, the east town[es, are not vnknown. Then it is her govern<sup>t</sup> and her gver<sup>m</sup>t alone that hath [bene y<sup>e</sup> sconse and forte of all *Europe*, w<sup>ch</sup> hath lett this proud nat[ion from oucoming all. If any state be yett free from his faccons [erected in y<sup>e</sup> bowells thereof, if there be any state where this faccon is er[ected, y<sup>t</sup> is not yet fired w<sup>th</sup> ciuell troubles, if there be anie state vnder his prote[ction upon whom he vsurpeth not, if there be anie state subiect to him th[at enjoyeth moderate libertie vpon whom he tirannizeth not, lett them [all knowe it to be the merritt of this renowned Queene, that standes b[etweene them and their disfortunes. Theise be some of the beames of her [noble and radiant magnanimitie, in contempt of perrill w<sup>ch</sup> so many flie, in c[ontempt of pro]fitt w<sup>ch</sup> so manie admire, and in merritt of the [worlde w<sup>ch</sup> soe manie include in] themselues, sett forth in my simplicitie [of speech w<sup>th</sup> much loss of lustre, but] w<sup>th</sup> neare approach of truth; as [the sunne is seene in the water. Now to passe to the excellences of her person; the viewe of them wholly and not severallie doe make soe sweete a wonder as I feare to diuide them againe: nobilitie extracted out of the royall and victorious lyne of the kings of England; yea both roses white and red do as well florise in her nobilitie as in]

did beare ye is interlined in another handwriting.

The MS. read *beare in mind that goodwill*, but the last word has been struck out.

But now he doth include, etc. This was first done upon the election of Gregory XIV., in December, 1591. It was repeated on that of Innocent IX., October, 1591, and Clement VIII., in January, 1591 - 2. — RANKE'S POPES, Book vi.

attempted upon Arragon. In 1592 Standen wrote to Anthony Bacon the citadel of Shuta in Arragon, the frontier of France and Bearn, was already put into a state of defence and 300 soldiers in it; and at Saragossa, the metropolis of that kingdom, they were building another citadel; so that Arragon might be saddled whenever they pleased, being already bridled.—BIRCH'S MEMOIRS OF ELIZABETH.

disfortunes has been struck out and misfortunes inserted probably wrongly, as this form of the word is used before on Folio 5.

*umbratill life* = a secluded life.

her beautie: a health such as is like she should haue, that was brought forth betweene two of the goodliest princes of the world, in strength of their yeares, in heate of their loue; y<sup>t</sup> hath not been iniured neyther w<sup>th</sup> an ouer liberall nor an ouer curious diett; that hath not ben softened by an vmbratill life still vnder the rooffe, but strengthened by use of the pure and open aire, that still retaineth flower and vigor of youth. ffor the beautie and manie graces of her psence what cullors are fine enough for such a portraiture? Let no light Poett be vsed for such a description, but the chastest and the royallest.

of her gate  
*et vera incessu patuit deus*  
 of her voice  
*nec vox hominem sonat*  
 of her eye  
*et lætos oculis afflarat honores*  
 of her couler  
*Indu sanguineo veluti violauerit ostro, si quis Ebur*  
 of her necke  
*et rosea cernice refulsit*  
 of her breasts  
*veste sinus collecta ffuentes*  
 of her hair  
*ambrosiæq; comæ diuinu vertice odorem spirauere*

*longe to thinke.* Originally written *tonge* to thinke. Some corrector has written in the margin *tyme*. The Museum copy has *longe*.

*was received* probably should be *was conceived*. The Museum copy has *is received*.

The Museum MS. omits *small*.

If this be psumption lett him beare the blame that oweth y<sup>e</sup> verses. W<sup>t</sup> shall I speake of her rare qualities of complem<sup>ts</sup>, w<sup>ch</sup> as they be excellent in y<sup>e</sup> things themselues so they haue alwaies besides somew<sup>t</sup> of a Queene; and as Queenes vse shadowes and vailles w<sup>th</sup> their rich apparell, so methinks in all her quallities there is somew<sup>t</sup> that flieth from ostentation and yett inviteth the minde to contemplate the more. W<sup>t</sup> should I speak of her excellent guifte of speach [bearing a character of the greatenes of her conceipte, the height of her degre [e, and the sweetnes of her nature? W<sup>t</sup> life, w<sup>t</sup> grace, w<sup>t</sup> edge is there [in theise wordes and glaunces wherw<sup>th</sup> at pleasure she can giue a [man longe to thinke? be it y<sup>t</sup> she meane to daunt him, to encorrage him [or to amaze him. How admirable is her discourse, whether it be in lea[rning, state, or loue. W<sup>t</sup> varietie of knowledge? w<sup>t</sup> rarenes of conceypt? [what choice of words? w<sup>t</sup> grace of vtterance? Doth it not appeare, th[at though her witt be as the adamant of excellencies w<sup>ch</sup> draweth out of a [nie book auncient or new, out of any writing or speach the best, yett [she refineth it, she enricheth it farr aboue y<sup>e</sup> valewe wherein it wa[s received. And is her speach onelie y<sup>t</sup> language w<sup>ch</sup> the child [learneth w<sup>th</sup> pleasure, and not that w<sup>ch</sup> the studious learne w<sup>th</sup> industrie? [Hath she not attayned beside] her rare eloquence in her owne lan[guage, infinitely polished since her happy times, changes of] other [languages both learned and moderne: so that she is able to negotiate w<sup>th</sup> diuers ambassadors in their owne languages, and that w<sup>th</sup> no [small] disadvantage unto them: who I thinke cannot but have a great part of]

their witts distracted from their matters in hand to the contem [plation & admi-  
 -ration of such perfecons. W<sup>t</sup> should I wander on to speak of y<sup>e</sup> ex [cellencies of her  
 nature w<sup>ch</sup> cannot endure to be looked on w<sup>th</sup> a discontented eye? [of y<sup>e</sup> constancy  
 of her favo<sup>rs</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> maketh her seruice as a iorney by land, wh[eras y<sup>e</sup> service  
 of other Princes is like an imbarquing by sea. As for her roya [l wisdom and  
 pollicie, he that shall note the prudent temper she vseth in ad [mitting accesse, of  
 the oneside maintayning the ma<sup>tie</sup> of her degree, and on the other si [de not pjudicing  
 herself by looking into her estate thorough too few windowes: her [exquisite judgm<sup>t</sup>  
 in choosing and finding good servants (a pointe wherein her father [excelled): her  
 pollitique skill in making and trayning good servants (a point be [yond y<sup>e</sup> former):  
 a profound discretion in assigning and appropriating everie of them [to their aptest  
 imploym<sup>t</sup>: her penetrating sight in discoveringe euerie mans ends [& drifts: her  
 wonderfull art in keeping her servants in satisfaccion and yett in [appetite: her  
 intentiue witt in contriving plots and outournes: her exact ca [ution in cen-  
 -suring the proposicons of others: her secreacie: her forseeing [events, her  
 vsing occasions: he that shall consider of these and other thing[s y<sup>t</sup> may  
 not well be touched, as he shall neuer cease to wonder at such a [Queene, soe  
 he shall wonder the lesse y<sup>t</sup> in so daungerous times, when witts [are so cun-  
 ning, humo<sup>rs</sup> so extrauagant, passions so violent, corrupcons so [great, dissi-  
 mulacons so deepe, faccons so many, she hath notw<sup>th</sup>standing d [one such great  
 things & raigned in such felicitie. For to speake of her fortune, [let no man  
 obie<sup>ct</sup> to me as a defect in her fortune y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> I did reserue for [a garlande  
 of her honor, and y<sup>t</sup> is that she liueth a virgin and hath no [children.  
 ffor it is that w<sup>ch</sup> maketh all other virtues <sup>& acts</sup> more sacred, more [august, more  
 deuine. Lett them leaue children y<sup>t</sup> leaue no other memorie in the [ir times. *Bru-  
 -toru æternitas foboles*. Revolve in histories the memories of happie [men, and  
 you shall not fynde any of rare felicitie but eyther he died ch [ildless or  
 his lyne soone spent after his death, or else was vnfortunate in [his chil-  
 -dren. Should a man haue children to be slayne by his vassall[s, as the  
*Posthumus* of Alexander y<sup>e</sup> great was? or to call them his [imposthumes,  
 as *Augustus Cæsar* called his? Pervse the catalogue. *Corne[lius Sylla,*  
*Julius Cæsar, Flavius Vespasian, Septimus Seuerus, Constan[tinus* the  
 greate; and the rule holdeth. *Generare et liberi humana, cre[are et ope-  
 ra diuina*. And therfor (this obieccon remoued) letts pceed[e to take  
 a veiwe of her felicitie. A mate of ffortune she neuer [tooke: onely  
 some aduersitie she passed at the first, to giue her [a quicker sense of  
 the psperitie that should follow, and to make her [more reposed in the  
 di]vine pvidence. Well she commeth to y<sup>e</sup> crowne. [It was noe small for-  
 -tune to] fynde at her entrance some such servants [and counsellers  
 as shee then found. The French King, who at this time by reason of the  
 peace concluded with Spayne and of the interest he had in Scotland  
 mought have proved a daungerous neyghbour, by howe strange an  
 accident was he taken away. The King of Spayne, who if he would have  
 enclyned to reduce the Lowe Countries by lenitie, consydering the goodly reueneues]

a profound discretion. The  
 Museum MS. has her  
 profound]

intentiue witt. Probably in-  
 ventive wit. and outournes  
 = overturns. A later  
 pen has altered the word  
 to *overtures*, which must  
 be wrong.

notwithstanding done such  
 great. This is as in the  
 Museum MS. The later  
 pen has however inserted  
 after *notwithstanding* the  
 word *brought*. The re-  
 mainder of his correction  
 is burnt.

The Museum MS. reads  
*imposters* for *imposthumes*,  
 but the latter is the cor-  
 rect reading. Compare  
*Augustus Cæsar*, out of  
 great indignation against  
 his two daughters, and  
*Posthumus Agrippa*, his  
 grandchild; whereof the first  
 two were infamous, and the  
 last otherwise unworthy,  
 would say, "That they were  
 not his seed, but some im-  
 posthumes that had broken  
 from him." — BACON'S  
 APOPHTHEGMES, No. 246.

*preuented* = anticipated or forestalled.

*though some thinke, etc. Compare it seemeth he had a good mind to make himself a way into that kingdom (Spain), seeing that (for that purpose as he reporteth) he did artificially nourish the young King Sebastian in the voyage to Africa, expecting that overthrow which followed.—BACON'S OBSERVATIONS ON A LIBEL.*

*they contrariwise . . . y<sup>e</sup> advise. The Museum MS. reads shee contrariwise . . . . advised him.*

*Dawbeny. The Museum MS. which is the sole authority for the missing lines reads Darleigh. This is wrong. The name of the Duke of Lenox was D'Aubigny, commonly spelt Dawbeny.*

w<sup>ch</sup> he drew from those countries, the greate commodites to annoy her state from them, might haue made a mightie & perillous machinacon against her repose, putteth on a resolucon not onelie to vse the meanes of those lowe countries but to spende and consume all his other meanes, the treasures of his Indies, and the forces of his ill compacted dominions, there and vpon them. The Earles y<sup>t</sup> rebelled in the North before the Duke of Norff: plotte (w<sup>ch</sup> indeed was the strength and steele of y<sup>t</sup> com-motion) was fullie ripe, brooke forth and preuented their time. The king Sebastian of Portugall, whom the king of Sp: would faine haue per-swaded, that it was a deuoter enterprize to purge Christendome then to enlardge it, though some thinke he did artificiallie nourish him in y<sup>t</sup> voyadg, is cutt in peeces w<sup>th</sup> his army in Affriq. Then hath the king of Sp: wo<sup>r</sup>ke cutt out to make all things in readdines during the olde Cardinalls time for the conquest of Portugall, whereby his desire of inuading England was slacked and put of some yeares, and by y<sup>t</sup> meanes was put in excucon at a time for some respects more to his disadvantdg. And y<sup>e</sup> same inuasion, like as if it had ben attempted before, it had the time much more proper and favourable, so likewise had it (in true discourse) had a better season afterwards. ffor if it had ben deferred till time that the league had ben better confirmed in ffr: w<sup>ch</sup> no doubt it would haue ben if y<sup>e</sup> Duke of Guise (who was the onelie man of worth on that side), had liued, (and the ffr: K: durst neuer haue layd hands on him had he not ben ani-mated by the English victorie against the Sp: pcedent:) and then some maritime townes had ben gotten into the hands of the league, it had ben a great suertie and strength to that enterprize. The Popes to consider of them, whose course and pollicie it had ben, to haue temporized and [to haue dispensed w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> papists coming to Church, that through the maske of their hipocrisie, they might haue ben brought into pl[aces of govern<sup>t</sup> in State and in the countrey, they contrariwise [by the instigation of some fugitive schollers y<sup>t</sup> advise them not w<sup>t</sup> w[as best for the sea of Roome but w<sup>t</sup> agreed best w<sup>th</sup> their owne eag[er humours and desperate states, discouer and declare themselues so f[arre by sending in of Seminaries and taking reconcilem<sup>t</sup>, as there is ne[w severitie of lawes introduced for y<sup>e</sup> repressing of that sort, and [men of that religion are become y<sup>e</sup> more suspect. W<sup>t</sup> should I say of [soe manie secreate con-spiracies miraculously detected? The record[s shew the treasons; but it is yett hidden in many of them how [they came to light. What should I spea]ke of the death of her ene[mies and the wicked instrum<sup>ts</sup>. towards her estate? Don Juan dyed not amisse: Dawbeny, Duke of Lenox, who was used as an instrument to divorce Scotland from the amitye of England, dyed in no ill season, a man withdrawen indeed at that time to France; but not without greate helpe. I maye not mention the death of some]



that occur to my minde, but still me thinks they liue [that should live, and they die that should die. I would not haue the [K of Spain dye yet: he is *feges gloriæ*. But when he groweth daungerous, or any [other besides him, I am perswaded they will die. What should I [speake of the fortunes and honor of her armies? w<sup>ch</sup> notw<sup>th</sup>standing the [inward peace of this nation, were neuer more renowned. What sh[ould I recount *Leeth*, *Newhauen*, I say *Newhauen*, for the honorable s[kirmishes and seruices there are no blemishe at all to the militia of [England. In the lowe countries, the *Lammas* day, the retrait of [Gante, the daye at Sutphen, and the prosperous progress of this s[ummer: The brauado in Portugall and the honorable exploits in [the ayde of the French kyng; besides the memorable voiages into the [Indies, and lastlie the good entertainem<sup>t</sup> of the invincible navie, [w<sup>ch</sup> was chased till the chasers were wearie, after infinite loss, w<sup>th</sup>out t[aking a cock-boate, w<sup>th</sup>out firing a shipcoate, sailed on at the mercie of the [winde and the discreacon of their adventurers, making a perambulacon or [pilgrimage about the northren seas, and ennobling many shoores and points [of lande by shipwrackes, and so returned home w<sup>th</sup> scorne & dishonor [much greater than the terror and expectacon of their setting forth. T[hese vertues and perfeccons, ioyned w<sup>th</sup> so great felicitie, haue made he[r the honour of her times, the admiracon of the world, the suite and [aspiring of the greatest kyngs and princes, who yett durst neuer haue aspi[red unto her as worthy of her, but as' their mindes were raised by l[ove. But whie do I forgett that words doe extenuate and embase ma[tters of that height? Time is her best commender, w<sup>ch</sup> neuer broug[ht forth such a prince, whose imperiall vertues contende w<sup>th</sup> the [excellencie of her person, both vertues contende w<sup>th</sup> her fortune, and [both vertue and fortune contende w<sup>th</sup> her fame.

{ *orbis amor, famæ carmen, cœliq̃ pupilla,* }  
 { *tu decus omne tuis: tu decus ip̃sa tibi.* }

*Leeth* = the siege of Leith in 1560. *Newhauen* = the unfortunate mishaps at Newhaven could not be mentioned without apology.

*Lammas Day*, the retrait of Gante. Compare In the year 1578 was that famous Lammas Day, which buried the reputation of Don Jhuan d'Austria. And also, In the year 1582 was that memorable Retrait of Gaunt, than the which there hath not bene an Exploit of Warre more celebrated. For in the true Judgment of Men of Warre, honourable retreats are in no wayes inferiour to brave charges, as having lesse of Fortune, more of Discipline, and as much of Valour. There were to the number of 300 Horse, and as many thousand Foot English, (commanded by Sir John Norris,) charged by the Prince of Parma, comming upon them with 7000 Horse; besides that the whole Army of Spaniards was ready to march on. Nevertheless Sir John Norris maintained a retreat without disarray, by the space of some miles, unto the City of Gaunt, with less loss of men than the enemy. The D. of Anjou and the Prince of Auarage, beholding this noble action from the wals of Gaunt, as in a Theatre, with great admiration — CERTAINE MISCELLANY WORKS OF FRANCIS BACON. 1629.

## Of Magnanimitie or Heroicall Vertue.

MS. Folio 25-26.

**N**O other copy of this short essay by Bacon is known either in manuscript or in print, so it is impossible to supply the missing lines at foot of folio 25, and the words supplied in square brackets are only conjectured. The general ideas expressed in the essay were afterwards enlarged and used in the "De Augmentis Scientiarum." The following translation by Mr. Francis Headlam of a portion of Chapter III. of Book VII. is of interest as showing how Bacon utilised this early production nearly thirty years after it was first written.

"For if these two things be supposed, that a man set before him honest and good ends, and again that his mind be resolute and constant to pursue and obtain them, it will follow that his mind shall address and mould itself to all virtues at once. And this indeed is like the work of Nature; whereas the other courses I have mentioned are like the work of the hand. For as when a carver makes an image, he shapes only that part whereon he works, and not the rest (as if he be upon the face, that part which shall be the body is but a rude and unshaped stone still, till such time as he comes to it); but contrariwise when Nature makes a flower or living creature, she forms and produces rudiments of all the parts at one time; so in obtaining virtue by habit, while we practise temperance, we do not advance much in fortitude, nor the like; but when we dedicate and apply ourselves entirely to good and honest ends, what virtue soever the pursuit and passage towards those ends suggests and enjoins, we shall find ourselves invested with a precedent disposition and propensity to conform thereto."

## *Off Magnanimitie or Heroicall Vertue.*

The vertues receiue 3 sortes of commendations, f[irst . . .  
 they conforme vs to the will and similitude of the [ . . .  
 second] they make vs apt for societie, abstinent fro w[rong doing . . .  
 . . .] publique from Nature as they free our m[inds from . . .  
 . . .] compleat in themselues, and . . .  
 externe

*Compare Magnanimitie no doubt consists in contempt of perill, in contempt of profit, and in merriting the times wherein we live.— Folio 15 of this MS.*

*(The MS. is imperfect, several lines destroyed.)*

indisposicon and as we see in the mocons of the bodie, that passions of feare and furie do enable men to that w<sup>ch</sup> longe practize and sleight cannot overcome, so it hath ben trulie obserued by one of the auncien<sup>ts</sup>, y<sup>t</sup> vtues and not onelie seu, all habitte attained by reason, right, and custome. But that there is a state of minde in apphension w<sup>ch</sup> to w<sup>t</sup> occasion soew it occurreth, straight casteth it into that vertue w<sup>ch</sup> is conversant about the accon, so as it is in itself, all the vertues and more. W<sup>ch</sup> state of minde may be termed (as it hath ben) magnanimitie or heroicall vertew.

*enable men to that. Probably enable men to do that.*

*all habitte attained. Probably all habits are obtained by reason. Compare Mihi, qui omnem detatem in optimis artibus egi, bene facere jam ex consuetudine in naturam vertit.—SALLUST.*

The former w<sup>ch</sup> is by habitte as it is open almost to the meanest spirritte, so it is full of imperfeccons and inequalitye. Great is the varietie of y<sup>e</sup> pcepte neither are they streight applied to the particuler or occurring accons. Then behoueth much labour to frame the witt, sometimes by pceeding by so smale and familiar degrees that y<sup>e</sup> minde pceiueth not the chaunge. Sometimes by gathering strength of minde ayded by occasio to make as it were some good leape or violent progresse, and the entertayning the mind w<sup>th</sup> the remembrance of that from receiving all together, till a new advantadge may be taken for mending the former, and so comforting the minde w<sup>th</sup> emulacon, verecundacons, & praises, and such other delicate helps. But the other though it excludeth best spirittte yett it possesseth the mind capable thereof, w<sup>th</sup> the seede of all vertue at once, so as the one seemeth to be y<sup>e</sup> worke of art and the other the art of nature. ffor as in carving a statua by the hande while the face is informing, the residue is in rude stone; but in nature there followeth straight the rudem<sup>te</sup> of all <sup>partes</sup> at once w<sup>ch</sup> are led by time to maturitie and perfeccion, so in pceeding by habitte whilst a man frameth himself to temperance, he doth not much proffitt to [ffor-titude, and much lesse by accustomed ffortitude doth so pffit to [ur-banitie. But in possessing the minde of those apphencons wherof [mag-nanimitie consisteth, the strength of his spiritt will worke out y<sup>e</sup> [more inferior vertues more naturallie and liuelie then any by it [can ever be obtained.

*verecundacons = modesty.*

*work of art, etc. This originally was written work of nature and the other the art of nature. The alterations have been made by a contemporary pen.*

*informing = in form, or finished.*

finis.

## An Advertisement touching private Censure.

MS. Folio 26-29.

**T**HIS essay is an enquiry concerning the limits and bounds of what would now be called toleration in religious opinions. No other copy of it is known, so it is impossible to supply the lines destroyed by fire. It is probable that Bacon wrote it, as a rough draft of the "Advertisement touching the controversies of the Church of England," which also appears in this volume, and is printed at page 34.

## An Advertisement touching the Controversies of the Church of England.

MS. Folio 29-44.

**T**HIS political pamphlet was written by Francis Bacon in 1589, when the Marprelate controversy was at its height. This bitter theological discussion has been well described as a pamphlet war "between the revilers of the bishops on one side, and the revilers of the Puritans on the other, and in which the appeal was made by both parties to the basest passions and prejudices of the vulgar."

Bacon's position was that of a peace-maker, who could see faults on both sides. His mother was an ardent Puritan, and so his sympathies would naturally be enlisted on the side of the party of reform. At the same time his position in Parliament and at Court would cause him to give full consideration to the arguments of the High Church party. This being so, we can understand how deep his interest in the matter must have been and his keen wish to find some *vía media* for the disputants. The "advertisement" was only circulated in manuscript, a few copies of it have survived and are to be found in the national libraries. They vary slightly, not indeed in

meaning, but in wording, and the copy here transcribed may be described as fairly good.

The missing portions of the pamphlet have been restored from a manuscript in the possession of Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence, Bart., M.P. It is bound up with six quarto pamphlets, comprising Bacon's "Miscellany Works," published by Rawley in 1629; "Certaine considerations touching the better pacification . . . of the Church of England," without date, but probably published in 1604; and four works by other authors. The binding is the ordinary half vellum with Dutch paper sides, of the xviii<sup>th</sup> century.

The Manuscript itself consists of 24 quarto pages of stout writing paper, closely written in a remarkably pretty and legible hand. The "Advertisement," as here printed ends upon page 22, and on the next folio is written the following memoranda relative to Bacon:—

ffr Bacon

the 7<sup>th</sup> of May 1617.

The long vacation will I reserve to my selfe for my recreation, or study of Arts and Sciences, which ought to be predominant.

The Lars beginning to take roote. Three at this time in place of great service with His Majesty, Lawyers by descent. Mr. Attorney the sonne of a Reverend Judge, (Sir Henry Yelverton). Mr. Solicitor, the sonne of a Judge as Reverend, (Sir Thomas Coventrey), since L<sup>d</sup> Keeper; and my selfe the sonne and successor of a L<sup>d</sup> Keeper.

I will then heare a judge's sonne before a serjeants, and a serjeants before any other.

Bacon took his seat in the Court of Chancery on the 7th of May, 1617. The speech he made is printed by Rawley in the "Resuscitatio," and contains the following sentences:—"And since I am upon the point whom I will hear, your Lordships will give me leave to tell you a fancy. It falls out that there be three of us, the King's servants, that are lawyers by descent. Mr. Attorney, son of a Judge, Mr. Solicitor likewise son of a Judge, and myself a Chancellor's son. Now because the law roots so well in my time, I will water it at the root thus far, as beside these great ones, I will hear any Judge's son before a Serjeant, and any Serjeant's son before a Reader [if there be not many of them].

It is a remarkable tribute to the statesmanship of Bacon that this pamphlet was reprinted in 1640 when the Long Parliament was discussing a similar question, and again in 1663 when the subject of toleration to the Dissenters was raised during the reign of Charles II.

*An advertism<sup>t</sup> touching private censure.*

*ure* = operation. Compare, His Majesty could wish the ancient statutes were in *ure* of holding a Parliament every year.—BACON: DRAFT OF THE KING'S SPEECH, 1614.

fforasmuch as men complaine of y<sup>e</sup> want of censure in [the Church of England duellie put in vre, they runne into a further [extreme, so that euerie perticuler person taketh vppon himself [to request the Church to censure and to excommunicate for [divers reasons and offences, and sometimes to estraunge and [excommunicate in] respecte of such offences; a matter [

(The MS. is imperfect, several lines destroyed.)

MS. Folio 27.

*some*. Probably *some one*.

and to societie, both that societie w<sup>ch</sup> is gathered in ge[neral and likewise that w<sup>ch</sup> is gathered in soveraigntie and [to do also the ordinaunce of God. I haue thought good to the [under standing, to sett downe the limitte and bounde of Christian re- garde of private censures onelie in breife noates, to [allow some that is by profession a devine, and of greater learning [judge in the matter as it deserueth.

*meane* = medium. Compare his friend was the meane of communication between the king and the Commons.

The first position is that no man ought in absence to [reprove the fault or offences of an other, though trulie, exc[ept for some good occasion. And therfor if I would disswade [my kinsman from the companie of another. If I would [keep him from matching w<sup>th</sup> such an howse, or from following [such a person, I may in modest and discreat sort (if ge[n]tleness do not pvaile) reporte and repeate to him the particu[lar vice of such a person for his better caution and infor[mation. If I be desirous to admonish another of a private fault [perhaps it may be better done by a meane then by my selfe, [acquaint some apt person therew<sup>th</sup>, w<sup>ch</sup> may performe y<sup>t</sup> [for me. In theise and the like cases when I speake vpon [them I speake as a ptie. When I speake w<sup>th</sup>out occasion I [first iudge, and then *tu quis es qui iudicas seruū alienū domino cadit*, and of princes it is said, *accuse not thy ruler no not in private*. Therefore all evill speaking in absence, though it be truth, yett vpon occasion is no Christian duetie but the part of busie whisperers. The nexte position is concerning admonitio[n, a parte whereof is that the fault whervpon ones admonitio[n is grounded be well and stronglie knowen vnto us. Salo[mon says, *he that speaketh before he knoweth, it is follie and shame*. [As St. James saith, *lett euerie man be swifte to heare and [slow to speake or affirme*, and St. Jude saith *of that they knowe not [they speak evill, and in that they knowe they are perverted*, as inde[ed they goe together. ffor when men are of rashe censure [or not, they are for the most part affectionate in that they [agree. For let none that is vnlearned psume to admonish [another in controuersies of religion. Let not one that liueth [alone and seeth not into the affaires of the world psume to ad[viser others of their pceeding in such cases w<sup>ch</sup> commonlie [

*affectionate* = earnest, eager. Compare I am zealous and affectionate to recede as little from antiquity.—BACON: ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING.

prooued upon many circumstaunces wher [ble. Soe farther, if it be matter in [of euerie mans knowledge [

(The MS. is imperfect, several lines destroyed.)

The second article or parte is, that we performe it w<sup>th</sup>out pucacon of the ptie admonished. It must be don w<sup>th</sup>out pride on our parte & w<sup>th</sup>out disgrace on their part. Parents that of all others have most authoritie to admonish their children, yett are expressly admonished by St. Paule not to provooke them. 3. The third part or article is that it be donne w<sup>th</sup> comelines. Admonicon is a Church accon, and therfor must be donne decenter. Lett men beware how they draw into contempt any good accion, by absurd and ridiculous handling, manie pcepte throughout all parts of the service of God. *Stay one for anothe<sup>r</sup>*, a pcept of decoru. *Goe not from howse to howse*, a pcept likewise of decoru and to avoid contempt. Therfor a man of a verie austere & straight life may admonish for a smale fault, a man y<sup>t</sup> liveth at more libertie cannot. A familiar frend may admonishe; a straunge<sup>r</sup> in case may not. At one time and at one place, a man may ad-  
monishe; at another time and another place a man may not. 4. The last article or parte touching admonicon is, that men neyther reite-  
rate it vnseasonablie nor combersomelie, nor giue it ouer easilie. Have you admonisht? Doth he offende straight in the same fault againe? W<sup>t</sup>! a medicine must have time to worke, despaire not though you see noe sudden prooffe. *Charitas omnia sperat*. Yet after you have expected a convenient time, then you may redouble it. Give it not over. *Charitas omnia sustinet*. The last posicon is touching  
separacon. There be 2 considerations whie men should separate &  
<sup>divide</sup> themselues from the companie of those men that offende. The first is for doubte of contagion, the next is for the humiliation and recouie of the offender. The former is generall and reacheth as well to those w<sup>ch</sup> are out of the Church as those y<sup>t</sup> are in the Church, and euerie man ought in sobrietie to measure his owne strength whether [by companie he is likelier to winne them or to be weakened himself. Amongst those that are tied w<sup>th</sup> anie pticuler strict bond no [action in this respect of contagion is iustifiable. A good sonne [may not separate himself from an ill father, no more then a be[leeuing wo-  
man may separate herselfe from an unbeleeving [housbande. The like holdeth in other civell bonde of bloude alliaunce, [for obli-  
gacon, seruice, and subieccion, men may not breake [their word wherin the pvidence of God hath tied them vnto [one place to walke carefullie, to pserve themselues, and [endeavour to save and reclaime the other ptie. For the other [parties sins and errors extendeth onelie to them w<sup>th</sup>in the Church; which is [according to the saieng of St. Paule, *what haue I [to do to judge them also, but if any y<sup>t</sup> is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner; with such an one, no not to eat.*

*pucacon* = provocation.

*comelines* = seemliness. Compare *How many things are there which a man cannot with any face or comelines say or doe himselfe.*—BACON ESSAY ON FRIENDSHIP.

*Divide* is written in the margin before *themselves*.

(The MS. is imperfect, several lines destroyed.)

au<sup>th</sup>oritie to make a man descende into himself [and be conciliate; and therfor leaving the lawe of separacon [alone so that in euerie pticuler, man must keepe the rule of c[ensure.

This advertisem<sup>t</sup> touching private censures I ha[ve not tried to repress those censures w<sup>ch</sup> may be rather called [the outcome of envie and malice, but onelie those y<sup>t</sup> pceede [from pposturous zeale.

*An advertism<sup>t</sup> touchinge the controuersies  
of the Church of England.*

It is but ignorance (if any man finde it straunge) [that the state of religion (especiallie in the daies of peace) should be [exercised and troubled w<sup>th</sup> controuersies. For as it is y<sup>e</sup> condiccon of the Church [militant to be euer vnder trialls, soe it commeth to passe that when [the fiery trial of persecuton ceaseth, there succedeth another triall, w<sup>ch</sup> as it were [by contrary blastes of doctrine, doe sifte and winnowe men's faithe, and [proveth them whether they knowe aright, even as that other of affliccons [discovereth whether they love him better then y<sup>e</sup> world. Accordinge [was it foretold by Christ, saieng, *that in the latter times it should [be said loe, heere is Christ, loe there is Christ:* w<sup>ch</sup> is to be vnderstood [not as if the verie pson of Christ should be assumed by this au<sup>th</sup>ority and pheeminence <sup>but that</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> is Truth it selfe, y<sup>t</sup> should be challe[nge and pre-tended. Thus have we redd and seen to be fulfilled y<sup>t</sup> [which followeth, *Ecce in deserto, ecce in penetralibus*; while some haue sought [Truth, in the conuenticles and conciliables of heretiques and sectaries, [and others in the externe face and repsentacon of the Church, and being [both sorts seduced. Were it then that the controuersies of the Church [of England were such as did deuide the vnitie of the spiritt, and not on[ly such as doe vnsuath her of her bandes, the bandes of peace; yet could it be no occasion for any ptended Catholicke to indge vs, or [for any irreligious persons to despise vs. Or (if it be), it shall butt [happen to vs all, as it hath vsed to doe; to them to be hardened, and to [us to endure the good pleasure of God. But now that o<sup>r</sup> contentions [are such, as we neede, not somuch that generall cannon and sente[nce of Christ pronounced against] heretiques: *Erratis, nescientes, Script[uras, nec potestatem Dei*], as we neede the admonicion of S<sup>t</sup> James, *Let [every man be slow to] speak, swift to heare, slowe to wrath*: And [that the wound is no way danger]ous, except we poison it w<sup>th</sup> [our remedies; as the former sort of men have less reason to make themselves music in our discord, so I have good hope that nothing shall displease ourselves which shall sincerely and modestly be propounded for the appeasing these dissensions. For if any shall be offended at this voice, "*Vos estis fratres; ye are brethren, why strive ye*"? he shall give a great presumption against himself, that he is the party that doth his brother wrong.

*proveth them, etc.* The Durning-Lawrence MS. reads *proveth whether they knowe God aright, even as that other of afflictions discovereth whether they love God aright.*

*assumed by this authority.* The Durning-Lawrence MS. reads *assumed and counterfeited, but his authority and, etc.*

*conciliables* = a secret assembly.

*and to us to endure.* The Durning-Lawrence MS. reads *and not to endure.*

The last seven lines of MS. Folios 29 to 44 are supplied from the Durning-Lawrence copy.



The controuersies themselues I will not enter into, as iudging that y<sup>e</sup> disease requireth rather rest then any other cure. This much we all know and confesse, y<sup>t</sup> they be not of the hiest nature; ffor they are not of the highest misteries of faith, such as detained y<sup>e</sup> Churches after their first peace for many yeares; w<sup>t</sup> time the Heretiques moued curious questions, and made straunge anatomies of the nature and person of Christ; and the Catholique ffathers were compelled to follow them w<sup>th</sup> all subtleties of decisions and determinacons, to exclude them from their evasions and to tak them in their laborinthes; so as it is rightlie said, *Illis temporibus ingeniosa res fuit esse Christianus*. Neyther are they concerning the greate parte of the worshipp of God, of w<sup>ch</sup> it is true y<sup>t</sup> *non servatur unitas in credendo nisi eadem sit in colendo*: such as were the controuersies of the East and West Churches touching images; and such as are manie of those betweene the Church of Rome and vs; as about the adoracon of the Sacram<sup>t</sup>, and y<sup>e</sup> like. But we contende about ceremonies and things indifferent; about the externe pollicie and govern<sup>t</sup> of the Church. In w<sup>ch</sup> kinde (if wee would but remember that the auncient and true bands of vnitie, are one faith, one baptisme, and not one ceremonie, one pollicie; if we would obserue <sup>y<sup>e</sup> league</sup> amongst Christias w<sup>ch</sup> is penned by our Sauior, *he that is not against vs is w<sup>th</sup> vs*. If we could but comprehend y<sup>e</sup> saieng, *differentia rituum comendatum: tatem doctrinæ* and y<sup>e</sup> *habet religio quæ sunt æternitatis, habet quæ sunt-temporis*. If we did but knowe y<sup>e</sup> vertue of Silence and slownes to speake, commended by St. James; controuersies of themselues would close vpp and grow togeather. But most especiallie, if we would leaue the ouerweening and turbulent humors of these times, [and receiue y<sup>e</sup> blessed pceedings of the Apostles, and Fathers of the [primitive Church, w<sup>ch</sup> was in the like and greater causes, not to [enter into] assertions and posicons, but to deliver counsell and advice, [we should] neede no other remedie at all. *Si eadem consulis, frater, quæ affirmas,] debetur consulenti reuerentia cum, non debeatur fides affirmanti*. St. Paul] was contented to speake thus, *Ego, non doius; I and not [the Lord Et,] secundū cosilū meū; according to my counsell*. But [now men do too lightly] say, *Non ego sed doius; not I but the Lorde*; yea and bynd [it with heavy] denuticons of his Iudgm<sup>ts</sup>, to terrifie the simple, [which have not suffici]entlie vnderstoode out of Salomon, that *the causeless [curse shall not come.]* Therfor seeing the accidents are they w<sup>ch</sup> being [the peril, and not the] things themselues in their owne nature, [it is meet the remedies] be applied vnto them, by [opening what is on either part, that keepeth the wound green, and formalizeth both sides to a further opposition, and worketh an indisposition in men's minds to be reunited. Wherein no accusation is pretended; but I find in reason, that peace is best built upon a repitition of wrongs; and in example that the speeches which have been made

*of the highest misteries of faith.*  
The word touching has been written in the margin and of has been struck out. *misteries of faith* has also been written twice and the first entry deleted. *detained* = kept the attention of.

The Durning - Lawrence MS. gives the quotation *Differentia rituum comendat unitatem doctrinæ*.

The Durning - Lawrence MS. leaves out *and advice*, *we should neede no other remedie at all*.

*doius* = dominus.

*denuticons* = denunciations.

*being should be breed*

And first of all. A new paragraph is commenced at this point in the Durning-Lawrence MS.

For bitter, etc. The Durning-Lawrence MS. reads *Indeed bitter and earnest writing may not hastily be condemned.*

zeale or love. The Durning-Lawrence MS. reads *hate or love.*

the contempt and deformitie, etc. The Durning-Lawrence MS. leaves and the contempt out and begins a new paragraph at *Two principal causes.*

could not receive it. The Durning-Lawrence MS. reads *could not perceive it.*

invention = counsel.

Sansovino. In most of the manuscript copies this name is left blank. It appears in the Durning-Lawrence copy and in the RESUSCITATIO.

by the wisest men *de concordia ordinā* haue not abstai[n]ed from reducing to memorie the extremities vsed on both parts. So as it [is true which is said, *Qui pacem tractat non repetitis conditionibus dissidii, is magis [animos hominum dulcedine pacis fallit, quam æquitate componit.* And first [of all, it is more then time, there were an ende and surcease made [of this immodest and deformed manner of writting latelie enter[tained, whereby matter of religion is handled in the stile of the stage. For, [bitter and earnest writing must not be condemned; for men [cannot contend coldlie and w<sup>th</sup>out affeccion about things w<sup>ch</sup> they hold [dear and precious. A polittique man may write from his braine, without [touch and sense of his hart, as in a speculacon that apperteyneth not [unto him; but a feeling Christian will expresse in his words a char[acter either of zeale or love. The latter of w<sup>ch</sup> as I could wishe r[ather embraced, being more pper for theise times, yett is the former [warrented also by great examples. But to leave all reuerent and [religious compassion towardes eville, or indignacon towards fav[ltis, and to tourne religion into a comedie or satyre; to search [and rip up woundes w<sup>th</sup> a laughing countenance; and enter[mix Scripture and scurrilite sometime in one sentence; is a thinge [far from a deuote reuerence of a Christian, and scant beseeming [the honest regard of a sobre man. *Non est maior confusio, quam serii [et joci;* The ma<sup>tie</sup> of religion, and the contempt and deformitie of [things ridiculous, are as distaunt as things may be. Two princ[ipal causes haue I euer knowne of Atheisme; curious questioning [and profane scoffing. Now that theise 2 are ioyned in one, no doubt [that sect will make no small pgression. And heere, I doe much [esteem the wisdom and religion of that Bishopp w<sup>ch</sup> replied to [the first pamphlett of this kinde, who remembered that *a foole was answered, but not in becomming like vnto him;* and con[sidered the matter w<sup>ch</sup> he handled, and not the pson w<sup>th</sup> whom he [dealt. Job, speaking of the ma<sup>tie</sup> and grauitie of a Judge in himself, [saith, *If I did smile, they beleueed it not;* as if he should have [said, *If I diuerted, or glaunced vnto concept of mirth, [manie minds were so possessed w<sup>th</sup> a reuerence of the accion in [hand, as they could not receiue it. Much more ought this to be [amongst bishops and diuines disputing about hollie things. And therefore [do I much dislike the invention of him who (as it seemeth) [pleased himself in it as] in no meane pollicie, that theis men are to be dealt withal at their own weapons, and pledged in their own cup. This no doubt seemed to him as profound a device, as when the Cardinal [Sansovino] counselled Julius II. to encounter the Council of Pisa with the Lateran Council; or as lawful a challenge as Mr. Jewel made to confute the pretended Catholics by the Fathers. But these things will not excuse the imitation of evil*

in another. It should contrarwise be w<sup>th</sup> vs as Cæsar said, *Nihil malo quam eos esse similes sui, et me mei*. But now *Dum de bonis contendimus in malis consentimus*; while we differ in good things, we resemble in evill. Surelie, yf I were asked of these men who were the more to be blamed, I should pcase remember the puerbe, that *the second blow maketh y<sup>e</sup> fray*, and the saieng of an obscure fellow, *Qui replicat multiplicat*. But

would determyn the question w<sup>th</sup> this sentence; *Alter principiū malo dedit, alter modū abstulit*. And trulie, as I doe marueile that some of those preachers that call for reformacon (whom I am farr from wronging so farr as to ioyn them w<sup>th</sup> these scoffers) doe not publish some declaracon wherby they may satisfie the world that they dislike their cause should be thus sollicit; so I hope assuredlie that my Lords of y<sup>e</sup> clergie have no intelligence w<sup>th</sup> this interlibelling, but doe altogether disallow that their credit should be <sup>thus</sup> defended. For though I obserue in one of them many glosses, wherby the man would insinuate himself into their favors, yett I finde it to be ordinarie, that manie pressing and fauning persons do misconiecture of y<sup>e</sup> humors of men in au<sup>r</sup>thoritie, and manie times *Veneri imolant suem, they seeke to gratifie them w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>t</sup> they most mislike*. For I have great reason to satisfie myself touching y<sup>t</sup> indgmt<sup>e</sup> of my lords the Bishops in this matter, by that w<sup>ch</sup> was written by one of them, w<sup>ch</sup> was mentioned before w<sup>th</sup> honor. Neuerthelesse I note, there is not an indifferent hand carried towards those pamphetts as they deserue. For the one sorte flieth in the darke, and the other is vttered openlie; wherein I might advise that side out of a wise writer, who hath sett it downe that *punitis ingeniis gliscit autoritas*. And indeed we see it [ever falleth out, that y<sup>e</sup> forbidden writting is alwaies thought to <sup>haue</sup> be sparke of truth

as seeme to flie up into the faces of those y<sup>t</sup> see to chooke it and treade it out; whereas a booke au<sup>r</sup>thorized, is thought to be but *temporis* [*voces, the language of the time*]; but in plaine truth I doe finde [(to my understanding) theise pamphletts as meete to be suppressed [as the other. First because as the former sort do deface the govern<sup>t</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> Church [in the persons of y<sup>e</sup> Bishoppes and Prelatts, so the other leads in [to contempt the exercises of religion in the psons of sundrie priests; [so as it disgraceth a higher matter, though in a meaner pson. [Next I find certain] indiscreate and daungerous amplificacons, [as if the civil government itself] this state had neere lost the force of her [sinews, and were ready to en]ter into some convulsion, all thinges [being full of faction and disorder; which is as unwisely acknowledged as untruely affirmed. I know his meaning is to enforce this irreverent and violent impugning of the government of the bishops to be a suspected forerunner of a more general contempt. And I grant there is sympathy between the states; but no such matter in the civil policy as deserveth so dishonourable

men. The Durning-Lawrence MS. reads *fellows*. pcase = percase, i.e., per chance. puerbe = proverb.

Alter . . . abstulit. The Durning-Lawrence copy inserts the translation, *By the one's meanes we have a beginning, and by the others we have not end*.

have no intelligence. The Durning-Lawrence MS. reads *have not intelligence with this other libeller*.

gratifie them, etc. The Durning-Lawrence MS. reads *they seeke to gratify them with that which they most dislike*.

The interlined *have* is by a later hand. There is some error here, and the first portion of the next line was written twice and one entry deleted. The Durning-Lawrence MS. reads *the forbidden writing is thought to be certain sparkes of a truth, that flie up in the faces of them that seeke to choke it*.

priests. The Durning-Lawrence MS. reads *preachers*.

conscience. The Durning-Lawrence MS. reads reason.

their owne harte, etc. The Durning-Lawrence MS. reads their owne hearts and make them as high wayes.

But this perchaunce. The Durning-Lawrence MS. reads But this perhaps is one of.

accidences = accidents.

imputacon = reprehension

causes = courses.

Now concerning commences a new paragraph in the Durning-Lawrence MS. and their substitutes is inserted in a later hand; it is not in the Durning-Lawrence MS.

imposed upon them = committed to them.

as having authoritie is omitted in the Durning-Lawrence MS.

a taxacon. To conclude this pointe : As it were [to be wished that these writings had ben abortiue and, neuer seene y<sup>e</sup> sonne ; [so the next is, since they be come abroad, that they be censured, [(by all that have vnderstanding and conscience) as vntemperate ex[travagencies of some light psons. Yea farther, that men beware ([except they mean to adventure to depriue themselues of all sence of religion, [and to pave their owne harte, and to make them as the high way), [how they be conversant in them, and much more how they delight in [that vein ; but rather to turne their laughing into blushing, and [to be ashamed, as of a short madnes, that they haue in matters of religion [taken their disport and solace. But this perchaunce is of those faults [which will be sonest acknowledged ; though I perceiue neuertheless [that there want not some who seeke to blaunch and excuse it. But to [descend to a sinceare veiw and consideracon of the accidences and [circumstances of theise controuersies, wherein eyther parte deserueth [blame or imputacon : I finde generallie, in causes of Church matters [that men do 1: offende in some or all of theise 5 points. 1. The giving [occasion unto theise controuersies ; and also the inconsiderate & vng[uarded taking 2: of occasion. 2 The next is, the extending and multiplieng [the controversies to a more generall opposicon and contradicon, then ap[peareth at the first ppounding of, them, when mens iudgm<sup>ts</sup> are lesse partea. [The Third 3: is, the passionate and vnbrotherlie practises and procee[dings of both the parts towards the persons each of other, for their d[iscredit and 4: suppression. The 4 is, the causes houlden and entertay[ned on either side, for the drawing of their ptizans to a more straight [union with themselues w<sup>ch</sup> euer importeth a farther distraccon [with the entire 5: bodie. The Last is, the vndue and inconvenient ppounding, [publishing and debating of the controusies. In w<sup>ch</sup> pointe the most [palpable error hath ben alreadie spoken of; as that w<sup>ch</sup> through y<sup>e</sup> [strangness and freshnes of the abuse first offreth it self to the con[ceits of all men. Now concerning the occasion of controusies, it [cannot be denied but that the imperfeccons in the conversation and [government of those w<sup>ch</sup> haue cheife place in the Church<sup>and their substitutes</sup> haue euer [been principal causes and motiues of Schismes and divisions. For [while the Bishoppes and governors of the Church continewe full [of knowledge and good workes ; while they feede the fflocke indeede ; [whilst they deale w<sup>th</sup> the secular states in all libertie and resolution, [according to the ma<sup>tie</sup> of their calling, and the precious care [of souls imposed vpon them ; so long the Church is situated as it were upon a hill ; no man making] question of it, or seeketh to departe from it. [But when these virtues in the] ffathers and leaders [of the Church have lost their light, and that they wax worldly, *lovers of themselves, and pleasers of men*, then men begin to grope for the Church as in the dark; they are in doubt whether they be the successors of the Apostles, or the Pharisees; yea, howsoever they sit in Moses' seat, yet they can never speak *tanquam au<sup>ct</sup>oritatem habentes, as having*

au<sup>th</sup>oritie, because they have lost their reputacon in y<sup>e</sup> consciences of men, by declining their steppes from the waie w<sup>ch</sup> they trace out to others. Soe as men had neede continuallie<sup>haue sounding</sup> in their ears: *Nolite excire, goe not out*; so readie are<sup>they</sup> to departe from the Church vpon euie voice: And therfor it is truelie noted by one that writeth as a naturall man, y<sup>t</sup> *the Hiprocrisie of ffriers did for a great time maintaine & beate out the irreligion of Bishops and Prelatts*. For this is y<sup>e</sup> double pollicie of the spirituall enemie, eyther by counterfait Holines of life to establish and au<sup>th</sup>orize errors; or by corruption of maners to discredit & draw in question truth and lawfull things. This concerneth my Lords the Bishops, vnto whom I am witnesse to my selfe that I stand affected as I ought. No contradiccon hath supplanted in me that reuence that I owe to their calling; neither hath any detracon or calumy embased myne opinion of their persons I knowe some of them, whose names are most perced w<sup>th</sup> these accusations, to be men of great vertues; although the indispositions of the times, and the want of corresponde manie wais, is enough to frustrate the<sup>ir</sup> best indevors in the edifieng of the Church. And for the rest generallie I cann condemne none. I am no iudge to them that belonge to so high a M<sup>r</sup>; neyther haue I *wit-nesses*. And I knowe it is trulie said of fame, y<sup>t</sup> *Pariter facta, atque infecta canebat*. Their taxacons arise not all from our coast; they haue manye and different enemies, readie to invent slaunder, more readie to amplifie it, and most readie to beleue it. And *Magnes mendacij credulitas*: But if any<sup>there</sup> be, against whom the supream Bishopp hath not a few things but manie things; if any haue lost his first loue; if any be neither whott nor cold; if any haue stumbled too low at the threshold, in sorte that he cannot sittwell, w<sup>ch</sup> entred ill; it is time *they retorne whence they are fallen, and confirme the things that remaine*. Greate is the waight of this fault; *et eorū causa abhorrebant a sacrificio*<sup>homines Domini</sup> and for their cause did men abhorr y<sup>e</sup> adoracon of God. But [howsoever it be, those w<sup>ch</sup> have sought to deface them, and cast contempt [upon them, are not to be excused. It is the pcept of Salomon [*that the rulers be not reproached*; no, not in<sup>or</sup> thought; but that we d[raw our verie conceipt into a modest interptacon of their doings. [The holy Aungle would give no sentence of blasphemie against [the common slanderer, but said, *Increpet te Dōius; the Lord rebuke [thee*. The Ap. S<sup>t</sup> Paule, though against him that did pollute sac[red Justice with tiraunous violence, he did iustlie denounce y<sup>t</sup> ind[ignation of God, in saying] *Percutiet te Dōius; the Lo: will strike thee*; yet [in saying *paries dealbate*] he thought he had gone to farr, and retra[cted it; whereupon a learned] father; *ipsū quamvis inanie nomen et [umbram sacerdotis cogitansexpavit*. The] auncient councells and sinodes [(as is noted by the ecclesiastical story), when they deprived any bishop, never recorded the offence, but buried it in perpetual silence. Only Cham purchased his curse with revealing his father's disgrace. And yet a much greater fault is it to ascend from their person to their calling, and draw that in

haue sounding. This is in the same handwriting as the body of the MS.

The reference is to Machiavelli's "Discorsi." *irreligion* is an error, the word should read *religion*. The passage is quoted by Bacon for another purpose in the *ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING*, 1605 ed., p. 12, and given thus: "That the kingdom of the clergy had been long before at an end, if the reputation and reverence toward the poverty of Friars had not borne out the scandal of the superfluities and excesses of the Bishops and Prelates.

and lawfull things is omitted in the Durning-Lawrence embased = lowered. [MS. perced = pierced.

corresponde manie wais. The Durning-Lawrence MS. reads *want of correspondance* is often enough.

I am no iudge to them. The Durning-Lawrence MS. reads *I am no judge of them that belong to so high a Master* neither have I two witnesses

there is inserted in a later hand.

stumbled too low. All other copies read *too foully*. This has been altered by a later hand.

not in or thought The word or is inserted in a later hand and destroys the sense.

The Durning-Lawrence MS. reads *The Apostle Paul, though against him that did pollute sacred justice with tyrannous violence in saying "Percutiet te Dominus paries dealbate"* thought he had gone too far and retracted it. In the Harleian MS. 3795, the words he offended not are written in the margin to be inserted after *strike thee*.

Cham = Ham, son of Noah.

religiouslie. So in MS., but should be *rigorously*.

The Durning - Lawrence MS. commences a new paragraph at *The second occasion*.

The Durning - Lawrence MS. reads *and such whom zeal marvelously transporteth for those whom, etc.*

The Durning - Lawrence MS. reads *are wreathed accidental and private emulations*.

*applie themselves* has been struck out.

The Durning - Lawrence MS. reads after *preiudicium*, *they leap from ignorance to a prejudicate opinion, and never take a sound judgment in their way. But as it is well noted, inter juvenile iudicium et senile preiudicium omnis veritas corrumpitur, when men are indifferent, and not partial, then their judgment is weak and unripe through want of years, and by the time it groweth to strength and ripeness, by that time it is so forestalled with such a number of prejudicate opinions, as it is made unprofitable: so as betweene these two all truth is corrupted. In the meanwhile, etc.*

question. Many good ffathers spake religiouslie, and [severely of the unworthiness of Bishoppes, as if psentlie it did forfeite [and cease their office; One saith, *Sacerdotes nominamur et non sumus*; An [other saith, *Nisi bonū opus amplectaris, episcopus esse non pōtes*; Yett they [meant nothing lesse then to moue doubt of their calling or ordinacon. [The second occasion of controusies, is the nature and humors of some [men. The church neuer wanteth a kinde of person w<sup>ch</sup> loueth *the salut[ation of Rabbi, master*, not in ceremonie or complem<sup>t</sup>, but in an inward auch[ority which they seeke ouer men's mindes, in drawing them to depend [upon their opinions, and to *sucke knowledge at their lippes*: These men [are the true successors of *Diotrephes, the louer of preheminance*, and not [lords bishops. Such spirritts do light vpon another sorte of natures, [which do adhere to them; men *quorū gloria in obsequio; stiffe followers*, and [such as *zeal marveilouslie for those whom they haue chosen for their [masters*. This latter sorte, for the most parte, are men of yonge yeares, and [superficial vnderstanding, carried away w<sup>th</sup> partiall respecte of p[ersons, or with the inticing appearaunce of goodlie names & ptences. *Pauci [res ipsas sequuntur, plures nōia rerū, plurimi nōia magistrorū*. About [these generall affeccons, are wreathed and enterlaced accidentes [and private emulacons and discontentm<sup>ts</sup>, all w<sup>ch</sup> together breake for [th into contentcons; such as either violate truth, sobrietie, or peace. These [generalities applie themselves. The vniuersities are the seates and y<sup>e</sup> c[ontinent of this disease, whence it hath ben and is derived vnto the rest [of the realm. There some will be no longer *ē numero*, of the nomber. There [some others side themselues before *they knowe their right hand from their left*. [So it is true w<sup>ch</sup> is said, *transeunt ab ignorantia ad preiudiciū*, and [never take a sound iudgm<sup>t</sup> in their way. But as it is well noted, *inter [juvenile iudicium et senile preiudiciū, ōis veritas corrūpitur*: In the mean[time, the honorable names of sinceritie, reformacon, and discipline [are put in the forwarde; so as contentions and evill zeales ca[nnot be touched, excepte theise hollie things be thought first to be [violated. But howsoeu they will inferr the sollicitacon of y<sup>e</sup> peace of [the church to pceede from carnall sence, yett I will eu conclude [with the Apostle Paule, *cū sit inter vos zelo et contentio, nonne [carnales estis?* And howsoeu they esteeme the compounding of contro[versies to savour of man's wisdom and humaine pollicie, and think [themselues led by the wisdom w<sup>ch</sup> is from aboue, yett I say [with St. James *Non] est ista sapientia de sursū descendens, sed terrena, animalis diabolica; ubi enim zelus et contentio, ibi inconstantia et [omne opus prauum*. Of this] inconstancie, it is said by a learned [father, *Procedere volunt non ad perfectionem,*] *sed ad pmutationem*: [they seek to go forward still, not to perfection, but to change.

The third occasion of controversies, I observe to be, an extreme and unlimited detestation of some former heresy or corruption of the church already acknowledged and convicted. This was the cause that produced the heresy of Arrius, grounded chiefly upon detestation of Gentilism, lest the Christians should seem, by the assertion of the co-equal divinity of our

Saviour Christ, to approach vnto the acknowledgm<sup>t</sup> of more gods then one. The detestacon of the heresie of Arrius pduced that of Sabellius; who, holding for execrable, y<sup>t</sup> dissimilitude w<sup>th</sup> Arrius ptended in the Trinitie, fled so farr from him, as he fell upon that other extremitie, to denie y<sup>e</sup> distinccon of persons; and to say they were but onelie names of seuell offices and dispensations. Yea, most of the heresies and schismes of y<sup>e</sup> Church haue sprong vp of this roote; while men haue made it as it were their scale, by w<sup>ch</sup> to measure the bounds of the most perfect religion; taking it by the farthest distaunce of the error last condemned. These be *posthumi heresiū filij*, heresies that arise out of the ashes of other heresies, that are extinct and amortised. This manner of apphencon doth in some degree possesse manie in our times. They thinke it the true touchstone to trie what is good, by measuring what is more or lesse opposite to the Church of Rome; be it ceremonie, be it pollicie or govern<sup>t</sup>, yea be it other institucon of greater waight. That is euer most perfect, w<sup>ch</sup> is removed most degrees from that Church; and that is ever polluted and blemished w<sup>ch</sup> pticipateth in anie appearance w<sup>th</sup> it. This is a subtile and a daungerous conceipt for men to entertaine, apt to delude themselues, more apt to seduce the people, and most apt of all to calumniat their adversaries. This surelie (but that a notorious condemnacon of that posicon was before our eies) had long since brought vs to the rebaptizacon of children baptized according to the ptended Catholique religion. For I see that w<sup>ch</sup> is a matter of much like reason, w<sup>ch</sup> is the reordaining of priests, a matter alreadie resolutelie maintained. It is verie meete that men beware how they be abused by this opinion; and that they know y<sup>t</sup> it is a consideracon of much greater wisdom and sobrietie, to be well advised, whether in the generall demolition of the institutions of [the Church of Rome there were not (as men's actions are imper[fect]) some good purged w<sup>th</sup> the bad, rather then to purge y<sup>e</sup> Church, [as they ptended, euerie daie anew; w<sup>ch</sup> is the waie to make a [wound in her bowells, as is alreadie begonne. 4. The fourth and last occasion of theise controusies (a matter w<sup>ch</sup> did also trouble the [Church in former times), is the partiall affectacon and imitacon [of foreign Churches. For manie of our men, during the time [of persecution and since, having ben conversant in Churches [abroad, and recvd a great impression of govern<sup>t</sup> there ord[ained, have violently sought to intrude the same vpon our Church. [But I answer, *Consentiamus in eo quod convenit, non in eo q<sup>d</sup> [receptum est; let us agree in this] that euerie Church do y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> [is convenient for the state of itself, and not in particular customs. Although their Churches have received the better form, yet many times it is to be sought, *non quid optimum, sed è bonis quid proximum*; not what is best, but of good things what is next and rediest to be had. Our Church is not now to plant; it is settled and established. It may be, in civil states, a republic is better than a Kingdom: yet God forbid that lawful Kingdoms should*

Arrius. In all the MS. copies examined the name is spelt thus.

of the error = from the error.

opposite to the Church. The Durning-Lawrence MS. reads *opposite to the institutions of the Church*.

The Durning - Lawrence MS. begins a new paragraph at *The fourth*.

*impression of gover<sup>t</sup>* reads in the Durning - Lawrence MS. *impression of the forms of government there obtained*.

be compelled to. This manuscript and the Durning-Lawrence MS. also reads *be tied to*. The alteration has been made by a later pen.

The interlineations are by a later pen and probably are incorrect. They do not occur in the other manuscripts examined.

The Durning-Lawrence MS. commences a new paragraph at *Now breiffie*.  
contention. The Durning-Lawrence MS. reads *conscience*.

be<sup>compelled</sup> to innovate and make alteracons. *Qui m[ala] introducitur, voluntatem Dei oppugnat reuelatam in verbo; qui nova [introducitur, voluntatem Dei oppugnat reuelatam in rebus; He that bringeth [in evil customs, resisteth the will of God reuealed in his word; He [that bringeth in new things resisteth the will of God reuealed in the [things themselves. Consule providentiam Dei cū verbo Dei; take counsell [of the providence of God as well<sup>as</sup> of his word. Neither yet do I admitt [that their form (though it were possible and convenient) is better than [ours, if some abuses were taken awaie. The parietie and equallitie [of ministers is a thing of wonderfull great confusion; and so is [an ordinary govern<sup>t</sup> by Sinods, w<sup>ch</sup> doth necessarilie ensue vpon [the other. It is hard in all causes, but especially in religion, when [voices shall be nombred and not waighed. Equidem (saith a wise [father) ut vere q<sup>d</sup> res est scribam, prorsus decrevi fugere omnem conen[tum episcopo-rā; nullius enim concilii bonū exitū vnquā vidi; concilia[enim non minuunt mala, sed augent potius, w<sup>ch</sup> is to be vnderstood [not so much of generall counsells, as of Sinods gathered for the [ordinary govern<sup>t</sup> of the Church; As for the depriuacon of Bishops, [and such like causes; <sup>the</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> <sup>therof</sup> mischeife<sup>h</sup> hath taught the vse of [archbishops, Patriarkes, and Primates, as the abuse of them since [hath taught men to dislike them. But it wilbe said, Looke to the fruits [of the Churches abroad and ours. To w<sup>ch</sup> I say, that I beseeche the Lord [to multiply his blessings and graces vpon theise Churches an hundred[fold. But yett it is not good, that we fall a *nombring of them*. It [may be our peace hath made vs more wanton: It maie be also (though [I would be loath to derogate from the honor of those Churches, [were it not to remoue scandells,) that their fruites are as torches in the [dark, which appeare greatest afar of. I knowe they maie haue s[ome more strict orders for the repressing of sundrie excesses. But [when I consider of the censures of some psons, aswell vpon p[articular men as vpon Churches, I thinke of y<sup>e</sup> saieng of a Platonist, [who saith *Certe vitia, irascibilis partis animæ, sunt gradu praviora quam [concupis cibilis, tametsi occultiora*; a matter that appeared well [by the auncient contentions of Bishopps. God graunt y<sup>t</sup> we [may contend w<sup>th</sup> other Churches, as the vine w<sup>th</sup> the oliue, [which of us beareth best fruit; and not as the brier w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> thistle, w<sup>ch</sup> of [us is more unppfitable. And thus much touching y<sup>e</sup> occasions of [the controversies.*

2. Now breiffie to sett downe the growth and p[rogress of these] controusies; wherebie wilbe veriefied, the saieng of [Solomon, that the course of] contention is to be stopped at first; [being else *as the waters*, which if they gain a breach, it will hardly be ever recovered. It may be remembered, that on their part that call for reformation, was first propounded a mislike of certain ceremonies supposed to be superstitious; some complaint of dumb ministers who possessed rich benefices; and some were invectives against the idle and monastical living in the Universities, by those who had livings to be resident



<sup>elsewhere;</sup>  
 vpon<sup>^</sup> and such like abuses. Thence they went on to condemne y<sup>e</sup> govern<sup>t</sup> of Bishoppes as an Hierarchie remayneng to vs of the corrupcons of the Ro: Church, and to except to sundrie institucons in the Church as not sufficientlie deliuered from the pollucions of former times. And lastlie, they are aduanced to define of an onelie and ppetuall forme of pollicie in the Church, w<sup>ch</sup> (w<sup>th</sup>out consideracon of possibilitie, or foresight of perrill and perturbacon of the Church and state) must be erected and planted by the magistrate. Heere they stay. Others (not able to keepe footing in so steepe a ground) descende farther; that y<sup>e</sup> same must be entred into and attempted by the people, at their perrill, w<sup>th</sup>out attending the establishm<sup>t</sup> of auctoritie: and some in the meantime refuse to communicate w<sup>th</sup> vs, reputing vs to haue no Church. This hath ben the pgression of that side: I meane of y<sup>e</sup> generalitie. For I knowe, some psons (being of the nature, not onelie to love extremities, but also to fall to them w<sup>th</sup>out degrees) were at the highest straine at first. <sup>Neither hath</sup> <sup>^</sup> The other part, w<sup>ch</sup> maintaineth the present govern<sup>t</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> Church, kept one tenor. First those ceremonies w<sup>ch</sup> were ptended to be corrupt they maintained to be things indifferet, and opposed the examples of the good times of the Church, to y<sup>t</sup> challendge w<sup>ch</sup> was made vnto them, because they were vsed in the latter superstitious times. Then were they also content mildlie to acknowledge many impfeccons in the Church; as tares come vp amongst y<sup>e</sup> corne, w<sup>ch</sup> yett (according to the wisdom taught by our Sauio<sup>r</sup> Christ) were not w<sup>th</sup> strife to be pulled vp, least it might spoile and sup-plant the good corne, but to growe on together vntill the harueste. After, they growe to a more absolute defence and maintenance of all the orders of the Church, and stiffie to hold that nothing was [to be innouated; ptlie because it need not, ptlie because it would [make a breach vpon the rest. <sup>Thence</sup> <sup>^</sup> (exasperate through contencons) they [are fallen to a direct condemnacon of y<sup>e</sup> contrairie parte, as of a [sect. Yea, and some indiscreat psons, haue ben bould in open preaching [to use dishonorable and derogatorie speach, and censure of [y<sup>e</sup> Churches a-broade; and that so farr as some of our men (as I haue [heard) ordained in forraigne parts, haue ben pnounced to be [no lawful ministers. Thus we see the beginnings were modest, but [the extremes are violent; so as there is almost as great a distaunce [now of either side from it selfe, as was at the first of one f[rom the other. And sure lie, though my meaning and scope be not [as I have said before) to enter into the controusies themselues, yett I [do admonish the maintainers of the discipline to weigh, and consult [diligently and attentively how] neare they are vnto them [with whom I know they will not join. It is very hard to affirm that the discipline which they say wee want is one of the essential parts of the worshipping of God, and not to affirme withal that the people themselves upon perill of salvation, without staying for the magistrate, are to gather themselves to it.

*elsewhere.* This correction is in a later hand and does not appear in the other copies examined.

*except* = take exception to.

*the establishment, etc.* The Durning-Lawrence MS. reads *any establishing by authority and so in the meantime.*

*neither hath* has been inserted by a later hand and words in the next line struck out. It originally read *ye Church hath not kept one tenor also.*

*Thence exasperate.* The word *thence* is supplied from the Durning-Lawrence MS.

*of the discipline.* The Durning-Lawrence MS. reads *of the allowed discipline.*

The interlineation is in the hand of the writer of the MS.

To take away manie abuses. The word *manie* does not occur in other copies of the manuscript.

Husband = husbandman.

The Durning - Lawrence MS. reads *It being the greatest judgment next to the general and universall judgment at the last day!*

*pphosieng* = prophesying.

The Durning - Lawrence MS. commences a new paragraph with *Now as to the third point.*

I demaunde, if a civell state should receiue the pr[eaching of the word and Baptisme, and interdict and exclude the [sacriment of the Ld's supper, were not men bounde vppon daunger of their [souls to draw themselues into congregations, wherin they might [celebrate that misterie, and not to content themselues w<sup>th</sup> that part [of the worship of God w<sup>ch</sup> the magistrate had authorised? This I speake, not [to draw them into a dislike of others, but <sup>to draw them</sup> into a more cleere considera[tion of themselves: *Fortasse non redeunt, quia suū progressū non intelligunt.* [Again to my Lo: the Bishoppes, it is harde, for them to auoide y<sup>e</sup> blame [(in the opinion of an indifferent pson) in standing so preciselie vpon [altering nothing. *Leges, novis legibus non recreatæ, acescunt; Lawes not [refreshed with new Lawes waxe sowre. Qui mala non permutat, in bonis [non perseverat; w<sup>th</sup>out chaunge of the ill, a man cannot continewe in [the good.* To take away manie abuses supplanteth not good orders, but [establisheth them. *Morosa moris retentio res turbulenta est, æque ac no [vitas a contentious retaining of custome is a turbulent thing, [as well as in-nouacon.* A good Husband is euer pruning and stirring [in his vineyard or feild; not vnseasonablie (indeed) nor vnskillfullie. But [lightly he findeth somewhat to doe. We haue heard of noe offers of [bishops of bills in parlearn<sup>t</sup>; w<sup>ch</sup> (no doubt pceeding from them, to whom [properly it belongeth would haue eueriewhere receyued acceptacon. [There own constitutions and orders haue reformed little. Is not [hing amis? can anie man defende y<sup>e</sup> use of excomunicacon as a base [process to lackey vp and downe for dueties and fees; If being a [greatest iudgm<sup>t</sup> of the latter daie? Is there no meanes to traine [and nurse vp ministers (for the yelde of the vnusities will not serve, [though they were neuer so well governed,) to traine, I say, not [to preach (for that, euie man confidentlie adventureth to do), but [to præch soundlie and handle the Scriptures w<sup>th</sup> wisdom and [judgment? I knowe pphosieng was subiect to great abuse, and w[ould be more abused now; because y<sup>e</sup> heate of contentions is increased. [But I say the onelie reason of the abuse was, because there was ad[mitted to it a popular audiorie, and was not contained w<sup>th</sup>in [a private conference of ministers. Other things might be spoke[n of. I pray God to inspire the Bishoppes w<sup>th</sup> a feruent loue and [care of the people; and y<sup>t</sup> they may not so much vrge things in controu[ersy, as things out of controusie, w<sup>ch</sup> all men confesse to be gratio[us and good. And this] much for the second point. Now as to the 3 [point, of unbrotherly] pceeding on eyther side. It is directlie con[trary to my purpose to] amplifie wronge; it is enoughe to [note and number them; which I do also to] moue c[ompassion and remorse on the offending side, and not to animate challenges and complaints on the other. And this point (as reason is) doth chiefly touch that side which can do most. *Injuriae potentiorum sunt; injuries come from them which have the upper hand.*

The wrongs of them which are possessed of the government of the Church towards the other may hardly be dissembled or excused. They have charged them as though *they*

denied tribute to Cæsar, and w<sup>th</sup> drew from the civell magistrate the obedience w<sup>ch</sup> they haue euer performed and taught. They haue sorted and coupled them w<sup>th</sup> the Familie of loue, whose heresies they haue laboured to descrie and confute. They haue ben swift of credit to receiue accusacons against them, from those that haue quarrelled against them but for speaking against synne and vice. Their accusacons and inquisicons haue ben strict. Swearing men to blankes, & generalities (not included w<sup>th</sup>in compasse of matter certaine, w<sup>ch</sup> the ptie y<sup>t</sup> is to take the oath may com<sup>ap</sup>prehende) is a thing captious and straineable. Their vrging of subscription to their owne articles is but *laccessere et irritare morbos ecclesiæ*, w<sup>ch</sup> otherwise would spende and crush themselves. *Non consensu quærit sed dissidiu, qui q<sup>d</sup> factis præstatur in verbis exigit.* And it is true, there are some w<sup>ch</sup> (as I am perswaded) will not easilie offende by inconformitie, who notw<sup>th</sup>standing make some conscience to subscribe. For they know this<sup>the</sup> note of inconstancie and defeccion from that w<sup>ch</sup> they haue long helde shall disable them to doe that good w<sup>ch</sup> otherwise they might doe: for such is the weaknes of manie that<sup>they thinke</sup> their ministerie should therby be discredited. As for their easie silencing them, in such great scarsitie of preachers, it is to punnishe y<sup>e</sup> people, and not them. Ought they not (I meane the B<sup>ps</sup>) to keepe one eye open, to looke vpon the good that these men doe, but to fix them vpon the hurte that they suppose cometh by them? Indeede, such as are intemperate and incorrigible, God forbid they should be permitted to teach. But shall euerie inconsiderate worde, sometimes captiouslie watched, and for the most parte hardlie enforced, be as a forfeiture of their voice and guifte in preaching? As for sundrie particuler molestacons, I take no pleasure to recite them. If a minister shalbe troubled for saieng in Baptisme *doe you beleue* [? for *doest thou beleue*? If another shalbe brought in question [for prayeng for her Ma<sup>tie</sup> w<sup>th</sup>out the addicon of her stile; whereas [the forme of praier in the Booke of Common Praier hath [thy Subject *Elizabeth*) and no more? If a third shall be<sup>accused</sup> vppon [these words vttered touching the controuersies, *tollatur Lex et fiat* [certamen, (whereby was ment y<sup>t</sup> the piudice of the Law remoued [either reasons should be equallie compared<sup>shall be accused</sup>) of calling y<sup>e</sup> people to [sedition & mutinie, as if he had said, *Awaie w<sup>th</sup> the Lawe, and [try it out by force*; If theise and other like pticulers be true, [which I have but by rumor, and cannot affirme; it is to be lamented [that they should labour amongst vs w<sup>th</sup> so little comefort. I knowe [restrained govern<sup>ts</sup> are better then remisse; and I am of his mind [that said, *Better it is to live whe<sup>re</sup> nothing is lawfull then wh<sup>ere</sup> all things are lawfull.* I dislike that laws be contemned or disorders unpunished. But laws are likened to the grape, that being to much prest yield an hard an unwholesome wine. Of these things I must say: *Ira viri non operatur iustitiam Dei; the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God.*

As for the injuries of the other part, they are as it were *ictus inerimium*; *headless arrows*; they are

quarrelled against them. The Durning-Lawrence MS. reads *quarrelled with them.* Their accusacons, etc. The same MS. reads *Their examinations and inquisitions have been straight.*

comprehende. The five interlineations upon this page have been made by a much later hand, they can hardly be called improvements

spende and crush themselves. Each MS. consulted has a different reading. The Durning-Lawrence leaves out *and crush*. One British Museum and Bodleian reads *spend and crise*. The Harleian reads *spend and waste*, and the Resuscitatio *spend and exercise but to fix them upon*. The Durning-Lawrence MS. reads *but to fix them both upon the hurte*.

*mcinarie* = mercenary.

The Durning - Lawrence MS. reads to have their endowments and livings. Of this I cannot, etc.

The Durning - Lawrence MS. inserts *And thus much touching the third point after to riddle it*; and commences a new paragraph with *The 4th point*.

*impropried*. So in the Museum and Bodleian MSS. The Durning-Lawrence and the "Resuscitatio" read *impropriated*.

*teacheth us otherwise*. The Durning-Lawrence MS. reads *teacheth us*, contrariwise to judge . . . according to the second table's works.

*that it ought*. This interlineation is in a later hand and does not appear in any other MS.

fierie and eager inuectiues, and in some fond men [uncivil and irreuerend behauior towards their psons. This last [invention also which exposeth them to derision and obloquie by libeells, chargeth [not (as I am perswaded) the whole syde: neither doth that other, [which is yet more odious practised by the worst sorte of them, w<sup>ch</sup> is, to call [in, as it were to their aides, certaine mcinarie bandes, w<sup>ch</sup> imp[ugn bishops and other ecclesiasticall dignities, to haue the spoile of their [endowments and livings. Of those I cannot speake to hardlie. It is an [intelligence between incendiaries and robbers, the one to fire the [house, the other to riddle it. The 4<sup>th</sup> point wholie ptaineth to them [which impugn the present ecclesiasticall governt<sup>t</sup>; who, although they [have not cutt themselues of from the communion of the Church, [yet do they affect certaine ceremonies and differences, where[in they seek to make correspondence amongst themselues, and to [be] sep[arated from others. And it is truelie said, *tam sunt mores quidam schis[matica, quam dogmata schismatica*. First, they haue impropried vnto [themselues the names of zealous, sincere, and reformed; as if all [others were cold, minglers of hollie and prophane things, and fr[iends of abuses. Yea, be a man indued w<sup>th</sup> great vertues and fruitful [in good workes, yett if he concurr not fullie w<sup>th</sup> them they to [term him in derogacon (a civell and morrall man, and compare [him to Socrates or some Heathen Philosopher, whereas the [wisdom of the scriptures teacheth vs otherwise; to iudg and [denominate men religious according to the workes of the second table; [because they of the first<sup>table</sup> were often counterfaieted and pract[iced in Hy-pocrisie. So S<sup>t</sup> John saith, that *a man doth vainelie boast of [loving God whom he neuer saw if he loue not his neighbor whom he hath seen*. And S<sup>t</sup> James saith, *this is true religion to visitt [the fatherless and the widdow*. So as that w<sup>ch</sup> is w<sup>th</sup> them but philosoph[icall and morrall, is in the Apostles phrase *true religion and [Christianity*. And as in affeccon they challendge the said vertues of [zeal and the rest so in knowledge they attribute to themselues *light and [perfection*. They saie, the Church of England in K: Ed: time, and in [the beginning of her Ma<sup>te</sup> raigne, was but in the cradle; and that [the bishops in those times did somewhat for daie-breake, but y<sup>t</sup> [maturity and fulness of light pceeded from themselues. So Sabinus, [Bishop of Heraclea, a Macedonian, said, that the ffathers in the [Council of Nice *were but infants and ignorant men; that the [Church was not so to persist]* in their decrees as <sup>that it ought</sup> to refuse that [further ripeness of knowledge] w<sup>ch</sup> time hath reuealed: and [as they censure virtuous men by the names of civil and moral, so do they censure men truely and godly wise (you see into the vanity of their assertions) by the name of politiques; saying that their wisdom is but carnall and savouring of man's brain. So if a preacher preach with care and meditation (I speak not of the vaine scholasticall

manner of preaching, but soundelie indeed<sup>doe</sup> order the matter he handleth distinctlie, for memorie, deducing and drawing it downe for direcon, and authorizing it w<sup>th</sup> strong proofes and warrants) they censure it as a fourme of speaking not becoming the simplicitie of the Gospell, and referr it to the rephension of S<sup>t</sup> Paule, speaking of *the inticing speech of mans wisdom*. Now for their owne manner of teaching, w<sup>t</sup> is it? Surelie they exhort well, & worke compunccon of mind, and bring men well to the question, *virī, fratres quid agimus?* But that is not enough, except they resolute y<sup>e</sup> question, they handle matters of controusie weakelie and *obiter*, and as before a people y<sup>t</sup> will accept of any thing. In doctrine of maners there is little but generallities and repeticons. The word (*the breade of life*) they tesse it vp, and downe, they breake it not. They drawe not their direcons downe *ad casus conscientie*; that a man maie be warranted in his perticular accons, whether they be lawfull or not. Neither indeede are manie of them able to doe it, w<sup>t</sup> through want of grounded knowledge, w<sup>t</sup> through want of studie and time. It is an easie and compendious thing to call for the observacon of the Sabaoth day, or to speake against unlawfull gaine; but w<sup>t</sup> accons and workes may be done vpon the Sabaoth daie, and w<sup>t</sup> not; and w<sup>t</sup> courses of gaine are lawfull and in w<sup>t</sup> cases? To sett this downe and to cleare the whole matter w<sup>th</sup> good distincons and decisions, is a matter of great knowledg and labor, and asketh much meditation & conuersing in the Scriptures, and other helpes w<sup>ch</sup> God hath prouided and preserued for instrucons. Againe, they carrie not an equall hand in teaching the people their lawfull libertie, as well as their restraints and phibitions: but they thinke a man cannot go too farr in that w<sup>ch</sup> hath a shew of a Commandm<sup>t</sup>. They forgett their are *sinnes on the right hand, and on the lefte*; and that *the word is double edged*, and cutteth on both sides, as well [the superstitious obseruacons as the pphane transgressions. Who doubteth [but that it is as vnlawfull to shutt where God hath opened, as to open [where God hath shut? to binde where God hath loosed, as to loose [where God has bound? Amongst men it is commonlie as ill to take or [to turn backe favours as to disobey commaundem<sup>ts</sup>. In this [kind of zeal (for example) they haue pounced generallie, [and without difference, all vntruthes vnlawfull; notw<sup>th</sup>standing that [*the midwives are* directlie reported to haue benn *blessed* for [their excuse; and Rahab is said *by faith* to haue concealed the [spies; and Solomon's selected iudgm<sup>t</sup> pceeded vpon a simulation; and our Saviour, the more to touch the hearts of the two disciples with a holy dalliance, made as if he would have passed Emmaus. Further, I have heard some sermons of mortification, which I thinke (with very good meaning) they haue preached out of their own experience and exercise, things in private counsells not unmeet;

The interlineation is wrong.  
The MS. read originally  
*preaching but soundlie in-*  
*deed, ordering the matter, etc.*

conuersing = conversation,  
or study.

The Durning - Lawrence  
MS. reads *sinnes on the*  
*right hand as well as on*  
*the left.*

obseruacons = observancies.

The Durning - Lawrence  
MS. reads *Amongst men it*  
*is commonly as evil taken to*  
*turn back favours as to dis-*  
*obey commands.*

The words from *spies* to  
*Emmaus* are omitted in the  
Bodleian and Durning-  
Lawrence copies.

but surelie no sounde conceipte ; much like to P[arson's *Resolutions*, or not so good ; apte to breede in men rather weake opinions [and perplexed dispaire, than filliall and true repentaunce w<sup>ch</sup> is [sought. Another pointe of great inconvenience and perill, is to entitle [the people to heare controusies and all kinds of doctrine. They saie [no part of the counsell of God must be suppressed, nor the people def[rauded, so as the difference w<sup>ch</sup> the Apostle maketh betweene *milke* and [strong meat is confounded : and his precept *that the weake be not* [admitted into questions and controuersies taketh no place. But m[ost of all is it to be suspected, as a seede of futher inconvenience, their [manner of handling the Scriptures ; For whilst they seeke express [Scripture for euerie thing ; and that they haue, (in a manner) d[eprived themselues and the Church, of a speciall helpe and support by emb[asing the authoritie of the ffathers ; they resort to naked examples, [conceited inferences, and forced allusions, such as doe<sup>myne</sup> [lead into all incertaintie of religion ; Another extremitie is the expressiue [magnifying of that w<sup>ch</sup>, though it be a principall and most hollie in[stitution, yet hath limitts as all things else haue. We see whersoever (in manner) they finde in the Scriptures the *worde* spoken of, they exp[ound it of *preaching*. They haue made it in manner of the essence [of the Sacrement of the Supper, to haue a sermon pcedent. They haue (in a sort) annihilated the vse of Liturgies, and fourmes of divine service, [as though the house of God be denominated of the principall, *domus* [orationis, a house of praier, and not a house of preaching. As for [the lives of the good monks and hermitts in the primitive Church, [I know they will condemne a man as halfe a Papist, if he sh[ould maintaine them as other then pphane, because they heard no [sermons. In the meane time, w<sup>t</sup> preaching is, and who may be said [to preach, they moue no question. But as farr as I see, euerie man [that presumeth to speake in a chaire is accounted a Preacher. But [I am assured that not a fewe that call hotlie for a preaching ministrie [deserve to be of the first themselues that should be expelled. All [these and other errors and misproceedings, they doe fortifie and enrich by [an addicted respect to their owne opinions, and an impatience to hear [contradiction or argum<sup>t</sup>. Yea, I know some of them would thinke it [a tempting of God, to heare or reade w<sup>t</sup> maie be said against them ; [as if there could be a *q<sup>d</sup> bonum est tenete*, w<sup>th</sup>out an *omnia pro* [bate going before. This] may suffice to offer vnto themselues a veiwe a[n]d consideration, whether] in these things they doe well or no, and [to correct and assuage the par]tiallitie of their followe[rs and dependants. For as for any man that shall hereby enter into a contempt of their ministry, it is but his own hardness of heart. I know the work of exhortation doth chiefly rest upon these men, and they have zeal and hate of sinner. But again, lett them take heed that it bee not true which one of their adversaries said, *that they have two small wants, Knowledge and Love.*

The word originally written was *mine*, but it has been struck out. The Bodleian copy reads *mine into all certainty of religion*. The Durning-Lawrence MS. reads *lead into all uncertainty of Religion*.

In the Bodleian and Durning-Lawrence copies the two lines from *service to preaching* are omitted.

*they moue no question* = they make no enquiry.

*fortify and enrich*. The Durning-Lawrence MS. reads *fortify and entrench by being so greatly addicted to their opinions and impatient to heare contradiction*. The reading *an addicted respect* is supplied from the Museum copy.

And so I conclude this pointe. The last pointe tonching y<sup>e</sup> due publishing and debating theise controusie needeth no long speach. This straunge abuse of antiques and pasquills hath ben touched before. So likewise I repeate y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> hath ben said; a character of Loue is more pper for debates of this nature then that of Zeale. As for all direct or indirect glaunces or levells at mens persons, they were eu in theise cases disallowed. Lastlie whatsoeu be ptended, the people is no meet arbitrator, but rather quiett modest and private assemblies and conference of the Learned. The presse and pulpitt would be freed and discharged from theise contentions, neither pmocon on the one side, nor glorie nor heate on the other side ought to continewe those challenge and cartells, at the Crosse and other places. But rather all preachers, especiallie all such as be of good temper and haue wisdom and consciece ought to inculcate and beate vpon a peace silence and surseasaunce. Neither lett them feare Solon's lawe w<sup>ch</sup> compelled in facons ouie pticuler pson on thother side; nor yett the fond calumnie of newtrality, but lett them knowe that it is true w<sup>ch</sup> is said by a wiseman that newters in contencons are either better or worse then either side. Theise things have I in all sinceritie and simplicitie sett downe, touching the controusies w<sup>ch</sup> now trouble the Church of England and that w<sup>th</sup>out all art or insinuacon and therfor not like to be gratefull to eyther parte. Notw<sup>th</sup>standing I trust w<sup>t</sup> hath ben said shall finde a correspondence in their minds w<sup>ch</sup> are not embarqued in ptialitie, and w<sup>ch</sup> loue the whole better than a part, wherfor I am not out of hope that it maie doe good. At the least I shall not repent my selfe of the meditacon.

finis.

The Durning - Lawrence MS. reads *undue publishing*.

*pper* = proper.

*eu* = ever.

*Lastlie, etc.* The Durning-Lawrence MS. reads *the people is noe meet Judge or Arbitrator, but rather the private moderator and quiett Assemblies and in conference of the Learned. Qui apud incapacem loquitur, non disceptat, sed calumniator.*

*Crosse* = St. Paul's Cross.

*surseasaunce* = cessation.

*Solon's law, etc.* The Durning-Lawrence MS. reads *which compelled in factions, every particular person to range himself on the one side.*

*finde a correspondence.* The Durning-Lawrence MS. reads *find a correspondence with such as are not im-barked in partialitie; which love the whole better than a part.*

A letter to a ffrench gent: touching y<sup>e</sup> proceedings  
in Engl: in Ecclesiastical causes; translated out  
of french into English by W: W:

MS. Folio 44-45.

**THIS** letter is imperfect, the MS. ending abruptly at the bottom of the second folio, the other side of which is blank, as if left for the transcription to be completed at a future time. It has been printed in the "Cabala sive Scrinia Sacra," Part ii., 1654, and also in "Burnet's History of the Reformation." Both contain inaccuracies, but each helps to correct the other. Mr. Spedding attributes the authorship to Bacon. The letter was written *circa* 1589-90, probably soon after the Protestant Henry of Navarre succeeded to the French throne.

Early in 1589 the French king had definitely joined the Protestant party, and was at war both with Spain and the League. This alteration in the political situation excited the greatest interest in England. A letter from Lord Burghley to the Earl of Shrewsbury, dated May 27, 1589, has been printed in Lodge's "Illustrations of British History," p. 400, vol. 2, 1791, which gives an interesting side-light upon the question. He writes:—

My Lord, the state of the world is marvelously changed, whan we trew Englishmen have cause for our own quietnes to wish good succes to a French Kyng, and a Kyng of Scotts; and yet they both differ one frō ye other in professiō of relligion; but seyng both are enemyes to our enemyes, we have cause to joyen wt them in ther actions ageyst our enemyes; and this is the work of God for our good, for the which ye Q. and us all, ar most depely bound to acknolledg his miraculoss goodnes, for no witt of man cōld otherwise have wrought it. At this tyme ye Fr. Kyng's pāty, by the trew subjects of his Crown, both Catholicque and Protestant, doth prosper in every place.

Elizabeth's advisers were anxious that needless distrust should not be excited against the Queen, in the minds either of the Protestant or of the moderate Catholic party in France, by her dealings with the religious parties in England. The letter contains an explanation in narrative form of the Queen's proceedings towards both the Catholics and the Puritans, and is framed to prove that her action had been throughout consistent, and to set forth and justify the course of her proceedings.



A letter of Bacon's is printed in the "Resuscitatio," addressed to Archbishop Whitgift, in which he says:—

I have considered the objections, perused the statutes, and framed the alterations, which I send ; still keeping myself within the brevity of a letter and form of a narration ; not entering into a form of argument or disputation. For in my poor conceit it is somewhat against the majesty of princes' actions to make too curious and striving apologies, but rather to set them forth plainly, and so as there may appear an harmony and constancy in them, so that one part upholdeth another.

There is no date to this letter, but it may be taken for granted that the enclosure sent with it is the letter to Monsr. Critoy, now printed. A further proof of Bacon's authorship is found in the fact that he reproduced it almost word for word in his "Observations on a Libel," written in 1592.

The date of its production can be approximately fixed. There is an allusion in it to the Marprelate controversy, which took place in 1589, and Walsingham, in whose name it was sent, died on April 6th, 1590.

MS. Folio 44.

*A letter to a ffrench gent : touching y<sup>e</sup> proceedings  
in Engl : in Ecclesiasticall causes translated out  
of french into English by W: W:*

S<sup>r</sup>,

Whereas you desire to be aduertised, touching the pceeding in ecclesiasticall causes, because you note in them some in[constancy and variacon, as if we enclined sometimes to one side, and[sometimes to another, and as if that clemencie and lenitie were [not used of late, which was vsed in the beginning; all w<sup>ch</sup> you imputed to y[our own superficiall vnderstanding of the affaires of this state, [having, notwithstanding, her Ma<sup>te</sup> doings in singuler reuerence, as [the real pledges which she hath given vnto the world of her since[rity in religion, and if her wisdom in govern<sup>t</sup> well meriteth. [I am glad of this occasion to imparte y<sup>e</sup> little I knowe in that [matter to you, both for your own satis]faccon and to the ends [you may make use thereof towards any that shall not be so modestly and so reasonably minded as you are. I find therefore that her Majesty's proceedings have been grounded upon two principles:—

The one that consciences are not to be forced, but to be won and reduced by the force of truth, with the aid of time and the use of all good

The missing portions of the letter have been supplied from Mr. Spedding's redaction. Where the Northumberland manuscript differs, a note has been made of the alteration.

*I find therefore.* Bacon used all which follows from this point down to *For the other part* (on page 53) in his pamphlet, "Observations upon a Libel," published in 1592.

leese = loose.

terror and rigor, etc. Spedding has *terror and rigour to seek commandment, etc.*

renewed. Spedding has *re-vived.*  
sufmacie. Spedding has *allegiance.*

ouflowe into oute = overflow into overt.

maintaining, etc. Spedding has *maintaining and extolling a foreign jurisdiction.*  
allotted. Probably altered.

The Bull was published on May 15, 1570.

chaunged and purged. Spedding has *partly purged.*

and bewitch. These words are omitted by Spedding.

meanes of instrucccon and persuacons. The other, [that the causes of conscience, when they exceede their bounds, and growe to [be matter of faction, leese their nature; and that soveraigne princes ought [distinctly to punish the practise or contempt, though coullored w<sup>th</sup> the [pretence of conscience and religion. According to theise principles her Ma<sup>tie</sup> [at her coming to the crowne, vtterlie misliking the tirannie of the Church [of Rome, which had vsed by terror and rigor commandem<sup>te</sup> of men's faithes [and consciences. Although as a Prince of great wisdom and magnanimitie [she suffered but the exercise of one religion, yett her pceedings towards [the Papists was w<sup>th</sup> great lenitie, expecting the good effect w<sup>ch</sup> [time might work in them. And therfor her Ma<sup>tie</sup> renewed not the Lawes [made in the 28 35 of her fathers raigne, wherby the oath of supm[acie might have ben offered at the Kgs. pleasure to any subiect, though he [kept his conscience neuer so modestlie to himself; and the refusall to take y<sup>e</sup> [same oath without further circumstance was made treason. But contra[riwise her Ma<sup>tie</sup>, not liking to make windowes into men's harts & [secret thoughts, except y<sup>e</sup> aboundaunce of them did ouflowe into oute and [express acts or affirmacons, tempered her lawe so as it restraineth [only manifest disobedience, in impugning and impeaching advisedlie and [maliciously her Ma<sup>ties</sup> supream powre, and maintaining a forraigne [jurisdiction. And as for the oath, it was allotted by her Ma<sup>tie</sup> into a grate[ful form; the harshnes of the name and appelacon of Supream [Head removed, and the penaltie of the refusall therof turned onelie into [disablement to take anie pmocon or to exercise any chardg; and yett [with liberty of being reinstated therin if any man shall accept therof [during his life. But after when Pius Quintus had excommunicated [her Majesty, and the Bull of Excommunicacon was published in London, [whereby her Ma<sup>tie</sup> was in sort pscibed; and that thervpon as vpon [a principal motiue or preparatiue, followed the Rebellion in the North; [yet because the ill humo<sup>rs</sup> of the Realme were by that rebellion [chaunged and purged, and that she feared at that time no forraigne inv[asion, and much lesse the attempts of anie w<sup>th</sup>in the Realme not [backed by some potent succors from w<sup>th</sup>out, she contented herself [to make a lawe against that speciall case of bringing in or pub[lishing of any Bulls or y<sup>e</sup> like instrum<sup>ts</sup>; whervnto was added a pro[hibition, upon paine, not of treason, but of an inferior degree of puni[shment against the bringing in of the *Agnus Dei*, hallowed beades, and [such other mchandise of Roome, as are well knowne not to be [any essential part of the Romaine religion, but onelie to be vsed in pr[actice as love tokens] to enchaunte and bewitch the peoples [affeccons from their allegi]ance to their naturall soveraigne. [In all other points her Majesty] continued her former lenitie. [But when about the twentieth year of her reign she had discovered in the King of Spain an intention to invade her dominions, and that a principal point of the plot was to prepare a party within the realm that might adhere to the foreigner, and

[that the seminaries began to blossom and to send forth daily, priests and professed men, who should by vow taken at shrift reconcile her subjects from their obedience, yea and bind many of them to attempt against her Majesty's sacred person; and that by the poison which they spread the humours of most Papists were altered, and that they were no more Papists in conscience and in softness, but Papists in faction; then there were new laws made for the punishment of such as should submit themselves to such reconcilements or renunciations of obedience. And because it was a treason carried in the clouds and in wonderful secrecy, and came seldom to light, and that there was no presumption thereof so great as the recusance to come to divine service; because it was set down by their decrees that to come to Church before reconcilment was to live in schism, but to come to Church after reconcilment was absolutely heretical and damnable; therefore there were added new laws containing a punishment pecuniary against such recusants, not to enforce conscience, but to enfeeble and impoverish the means of those to whom it rested indifferent and ambiguous whether they were reconciled or no. And when, notwithstanding all this provision, this poison was dispersed so secretly as that there was no means to stay it but by restraining the merchants that brought it in, then lastly there was added another law whereby such seditious priests of the new erection were exiled, and those that were at that time within the land shipped over, and so commanded to keep hence upon pain of treason.

This hath been the proceeding with that sort, though intermingled not only with sundry examples of her Majesty's grace towards such as in her wisdom she knew to be Papists in conscience and not in faction, but also with an ordinary mitigation towards the offenders in the highest degree convicted by law, if they would but protest that in case this realm should be invaded with a foreign army by the Pope's authority, for the Catholic cause, as they term it, they would take party with her Majesty and not adhere to her enemies.

For the other part, which have been offensive to the state, though in another degree; which named themselves Reformers, and we commonly call Puritans; this hath been the proceeding towards them. A great while, when they inveighed against such abuses in the Church as pluralities, non-residence, and the like, their zeal was not condemned, only their violence was sometimes censured; when they refused the use of some ceremonies and rites as superstitions, they were tolerated with much connivency and gentleness; yea, when they called in question the superiority of bishops, and pretended to bring a democracy into the Church, yet their propositions were heard, considered, and by contrary writings debated and discussed. Yea, all this, while it was perceived that their course was dangerous and very popular. As because Papistry was odious, therefore it was ever in their mouths that they sought to purge the Church from the relics of Popery; a thing acceptable to the people, who love ever to run from one extreme to another. Because multitudes of *ogues* and poverty were an eyesore and dislike to every man, therefore they put into the people's head that if discipline were planted, there]

NOTE. — All that follows from this point to the end of the letter is missing from the Northumberland manuscript. It is supplied from Mr. Spedding's redaction.

*See Note on previous page.*

[should be no beggars nor vagabonds ; a thing very plausible. And in like manner they promised the people many other impossible wonders of their discipline. Besides, they opened the people a way to government by their consistory and presbytery, a thing though in consequence no less prejudicial to the liberties of private men than to the sovereignty of princes, yet in the first show very popular. Nevertheless this (except it were in some few that entered into extreme contempt) was borne with, because they pretended but in dutiful manner to make propositions, and to leave it to the providence of God and the authority of the magistrate. But now of late years, when there issued from them a colony of those that affirmed the consent of the magistrate was not to be attended ; when, under pretence of a consession to avoid slanders and imputations, they combined themselves by classes and subscriptions ; when they descended into that vile and base means of defacing the government of the Church by ridiculous pasquils ; when they began to make many subjects in doubt to take an oath, which is in one of the fundamental parts of justice in this land and in all places ; when they began both to vaunt of the strength and number of their partisans and followers, and to use comminations that their cause would prevail though with uproar and violence ; then it appeared to be no more zeal, no more conscience, but mere faction and division ; and therefore, though the state were compelled to hold somewhat a harder hand to restrain them than before, yet it was with as great moderation as the peace of the Church and State could permit. And therefore, Sir, to conclude, consider uprightly of these matters, and you shall see her Majesty is no temporizer in religion. It is not the success abroad, nor the change of servants here at home, can alter her ; only as the things themselves alter, so she applieth her religious wisdom to methods correspondent unto them ; still retaining the two rules before mentioned, in dealing tenderly with consciences and yet in discovering faction from conscience and softness from singularity. Farewell.

Your loving Friend,

FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.]

The Hermitt's fyrst speach.  
The Hermitt's second speach.  
The Souldier's speach.  
The Secretarie's speach.  
The Squyor's speach.

MS. Folio 47-53.

**T**HESE are speeches written by Bacon to be spoken in a Masque or Device, given by the Earl of Essex in 1595. In the Lambeth Palace library there is a paper in Bacon's handwriting, without date, containing the rough drafts and notes of portions of the speeches now printed, and a second paper containing a fair copy of the last four of them. The chief difference between the Northumberland manuscript and the Lambeth is, that the latter contains a rough draft explaining the design of the Masque, and an extra speech entitled "The Squire's speech in the tilt-yard." This was probably spoken first at the Device, and was followed by "The Hermitt's fyrst speach," which is only to be found in the collection here printed. Bacon's introductory note, or suggestion for the composition of the Device was as follows:—

"The persons to be three: one dressed like an Hermit or Philosopher, representing Contemplation. The second like a Captain, representing Fame; and the third like a Counsellor of Estate, representing Experience. The third to begin [speaking] to the Squire, as being the master of the best behaviour or compliment, though he speak last."

In order to make the Device complete, it has been thought well to reprint the omitted "Speech of the Squire in the Tiltyard."

"Most excellent and glorious Queen, give me leave, I beseech your Majesty, to offer my master his complaint and petition. Complaint—that coming hither to your Majesty's most happy day, he is tormented with the importunity of a melancholy dreaming Hermit, a mutinous brain-sick Soldier, and a busy tedious Secretary. His petition is that he may be as free as the rest, and at least whilst he is here, be troubled with nothing but with care how to please and honour you."

An interesting account of the entertainment was written by Rowland Whyte, some four days after its occurrence, to Sir Robert Sydney. It is dated November 22nd, 1595, and has been reprinted in Vol. I. of the "Sydney Papers."

"My Lord of Essex's device is much commended in these late triumphs. Some pretty while before he came in himself to the tilt, he sent his page with some speech to the Queen, who returned with her Majesty's glove. And when he came himself, he was met with an old Hermit, a Secretary of State, a brave Soldier, and an Esquire. The first presented him with a book of meditations; the second with political discourses; the third with orations of brave fought battles; the fourth was but his own follower, to whom the other three imparted much of their purpose before he came in. Another devised with him, persuading him to this or that course of life, according to their inclinations. Comes into the tiltyard unthought upon, the ordinary post boy of London, a ragged villian all bemired, upon a poor lean jade, galloping and blowing for life, and delivered the Secretary a packet of letters, which he presently offered my Lord of Essex; and with this dumb show our eyes were fed for that time. In the after-supper, before the Queen, they first delivered a well-penned speech to move this worthy Knight to leave his vain following of Love, and to take him to heavenly meditation: the secretaries all tending to have him follow matters of state, the soldiers persuading him to the war; but the esquire answered them all, and concluded with an excellent but too plain English, that this Knight would never forsake his mistress's love, whose Virtue made all his thoughts divine, whose Wisdom taught him all true policy, whose Beauty and Worth were at all times able to make him fit to command armies. He showed all the defects and imperfections of all their times, and there-thought his course of life to be best in serving his mistress. The old man was he that in Cambridge played Giraldy, Morley played the Secretary, and he that played Pedantiq was the soldier, and Toby Matthew acted the Squire's part. The world makes many untrue constructions of these Speeches, comparing the Hermit and the Secretary to two of the lords, and the Soldier to Sir Roger Williams; but the Queen said that if she had thought there had been so much said of her, she would not have been there that night, and so went to bed."

*The Hermitts fyrst speach.*

Your ma<sup>te</sup> nature w<sup>ch</sup> loueth to be iust, and your Iustice w<sup>ch</sup> [used not to be indifferent, will not suffer you to condemne any vnheard [. We do beseech your ma<sup>tie</sup> to assigne vs a tyme when we may before you [speak for our selues, and so will it appeare whether this complaynte [is just and our importunitie iniurious.

NOTE.—Alternate readings from the Gibson Papers, vol. 5, preserved in the Lambeth Palace Library, are marked GIBSON.

*The Hermitts second speach.*

Though our endes be diuers, most sacred Queene; and so<sup>one</sup> may be [more iust then another, yett y<sup>e</sup> complaint of this Squior is generall, [and therfor alike vniust against vs all. He is angry y<sup>t</sup> we offer our s[elves vncalled vnto his [master], and forgetts y<sup>t</sup> we come not of our selues but [as y<sup>e</sup> messengers of selfe-loue, for whom all y<sup>t</sup> comes should be well taken. He sayeth that when we come we are importunate. If he meanes that we erre in forme, we learne it of his m<sup>r</sup>, who being a louer allows of no other forme of solliciting. If he chardge vs to erre in matter, I for my parte will prsentlie proue that I perswaded him to nothing but for his owne good. For I wishe him to leaue turning ouer y<sup>is</sup> booke of fortune, w<sup>ch</sup> is but a play for children, when as there be so many bookes of truth and knowledge better worthie the revolving, & not to fix his veiwe onelie vpon a little picture in a tablett, when there be so many goodly tables of histories, yea to life, excellent to beholde and admire. Whether he beleue me or no, there is no prison to the prison of thoughts, w<sup>ch</sup> are free vnder the greatest tyrants. Shall any man make his conceipte as an au<sup>t</sup>horitie, mewed vp w<sup>th</sup>in the compasse of one beautie; that may haue the libertie of all contemplations? Shall he chaunge the sweet traouelling through the vniuersall varietie, for one wearisome rounde or laborinth? Lett thy m<sup>r</sup>, Squior, offer his seruice to the Muses. It is long synce [they receaued any into their court. They giue almes continuallie at their gates, that men do come for to liue vpon, butt fewe haue ben ad]mitted into theyr pallace. There maie he fynde secreats not dang[erous] to knowe, sydes and parties not factious to houlde pcep[ts and] commaundem<sup>ts</sup> not penall to disobey. The gardens of loue [wherein he now playeth] himself, are freshe to daie and fading to morrow, [as the beams of the sun] comforts them or is turned from them. But [the gardens of the Muses keep] the priuiledge of the golden adge, they [ever flourish and are in league] w<sup>th</sup> time. The monum<sup>ts</sup> of witt [survive the monuments of power: the verses of a poet] endure w<sup>th</sup>out [a syllable lost, while states and empires pass many periods. Let him not think he shall descend, for he is now upon a hill as a ship is mounted upon the ridge of a wave; but that hill of the Muses is

Though our endes be diuerse and therefore may be one more just, etc.—GIBSON.

master is omitted in the MS.

we have that of his master.—GIBSON.

where there be so many books.—GIBSON.

upon a picture in a little table, where.—GIBSON.

his conceipte as an anchor, mured up with the compass of one beautie or person.—GIBSON.

wearisome and endless round.—GIBSON.

that many come to liue vpon.—GIBSON.

NOTE.—The missing portions of Folios 47 to 53 are supplied from Bacon's own manuscripts in the Lambeth Palace library, as transcribed by Mr. Spedding.

See Note on previous page.

*pnt* = present. Yea, in some  
cliff probably should read  
Yea, as from a cliff

and where he now looks on  
his mistress's outside with  
the eyes of sense, which are  
dazzled and amazed.—  
GIBSON.

above] all tempests, and windes, alwaies cleare and calme; an hill of [the goodliest discouerie that man can haue, being a prospect vpon [all the errors and wanderings of this pnt and former times. Yea, in some [cliff it leadeth the eye beyonde the horrizon of theise times, and giueth [no obscure diuinacon of times to come. Soe that if he will indeede leade *vita]m vitalem*, a life that vniteth safetie and dignitie, pleasure and merritt; if he will winne admiracon w<sup>th</sup>out enuie; if he wilbe in the feast and not in the throng; in the light and not in the heate; let him embrace the life of studie and contemplacon. And if he will accepte of no other reason, yet because the guifts of the Muses will enworthie him in his loue, and wheras now he looketh vpon his M<sup>rs</sup> outsyde w<sup>th</sup> the eyes of sence, w<sup>ch</sup> arodastled and amased, hee shall then beholde her high perfecons and heavenlie minde w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> eyes of iudgm<sup>t</sup>, w<sup>ch</sup> grow stronger by neerelie and directlie viewig such an obiecte.

### *The Souldiers speech.*

sorry to leave to carry thy  
master's shield.—GIBSON.

to recorde is omitted in the  
Gibson MS.

whether ever thou didst see.—  
GIBSON.

such a sweet felicitie is in.—  
GIBSON.

counterfeits and shadows. So  
in the Gibson MS., but  
the first two words could  
only have been written  
here if interlined, as there  
was only space for about  
seven letters in the de-  
stroyed portion of the  
manuscript.

Squior, the good olde-man hath said well to you, but I dare say thou wouldst be sorrie to leaue thie m<sup>rs</sup> shiede, and to carrie his bookes, and I am sure thie m<sup>r</sup> had rather be a faulcon, a bird of pray, then a singing birde in a cage. The Muses are to serue martiall men, to recorde and sing their famous accons, and not to be served by them. Then harken to me. It is the warres that giueth all spirritts of valour, not onelie honor but contentm<sup>t</sup>. For marke whether thou didst euer see a man growen to any honorable comandm<sup>t</sup> in the warres, but when so euer he gaue it ouer he was readie to die w<sup>th</sup> melancholie? Such a secreat felicitie, there is in that noble exercise, that he who tasteth it thoroughlie is distasted of all other. And no marveile; for if the hunter take such solace in his chase, if y<sup>e</sup> matches and wagers of sporte passe away w<sup>th</sup> such satisfaccon and delight, if the lookers on be affected w<sup>th</sup> such pleasure in y<sup>e</sup> representacon of a fained tragdie, thinke w<sup>t</sup> contentm<sup>t</sup> a man receyueth when th<sup>ey</sup> that are equall to him in nature, from the hight of insolencie and furie, are brought to the condition of a chased pray, when a v[ictory is] obtained wherof the victories of exercises and games are but <sup>counterfeits, and</sup> [shadows, and when in a liuely tradgedie a mans enemies are sacrificed [before his] eyes vnto his fortune. Then for the dignitie of millitary [profession, is it] not y<sup>e</sup> truest and perfectest practise of all vertues? [of wisdom in disp]osing those things w<sup>ch</sup> are most subiect to con[fusion and accident; of justice,] in continuall distributing of [rewards; of temperance, in] exercise of the straightest discipline; [of fortitude, in toleration of all labours and abstinence from effeminate delights; of constancy, in bearing and digesting the greatest variety of fortune. So that when all other places and professions require but their several virtues, a brave



leader in the warres must be accomplished w<sup>th</sup> all. It is the [war that is the tribunall state, where the highest rights and posse[ssions are decided. The occupacon of kyngs, the roote of nobilitie, the [protection of all seates; and lastlie, louers neuer thought their pfession [sufficientlie graced, till they had compared it to a warrfarre. [All that in any other pfession is to be wished for is but to liue happelie; [but to be a braue commander in the felde, death it selfe doth crowne y<sup>e</sup> topp and heade of glorie. Therefor, Squior, lett thy m<sup>r</sup> goe w<sup>th</sup> [me and though he be resoluēd in the pursuite of his loue, lett him [aspire vnto it by y<sup>e</sup> noblest meanes. For ladies count it no honor to [subdue them w<sup>th</sup> their faire eyes, w<sup>ch</sup> wilbe daunted w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> fierce encon[ter of an enemy; and they will quicklie discerne a champion meete to [wear theyr gloue, from a page not worthie to carrie their pantaple. [Therefore I saie againe, lett him seeke his fortune in the felde, where he m[ay eyther loose his loue, or finde new argum<sup>ts</sup> to aduaunce it.

See Note on page 57.

states reads estates in the Gibson Manuscript.

death itself doth crown the head with glory.—GIBSON.

fairest eyes.—GIBSON.

pantaple = slippers. Compare *Of the hinder parts of their horse hides they make very fine sandals and pantofles.*—HAKLUYT.

### The Secretaries speache.

Squior, my aduise to thie m<sup>r</sup> shalbe as a token wrapte up in words; but then will it show it selfe faire, when it is vnfolded in his accons. To wishe him to chaunge from one honor to another, were but as if for the cure of a man in paine, one should aduize him to lye on the other syde, but not to inable him to stande vpon his feete. If from a sanguyne delightfull humor of loue he turne to a melancholie retired humor of contemplation, or a turbulent boyling humor of [the warres, what doth he but chaunge tirants? Contemplacon is a dream, loue a traunce, and the humor of warr a raving. Theise be shifts of humors, but no reclaiming to reason. I debarre him not studies, nor bookes, to giue him store and varietie of conceipte, to refreshe his mind, to cover slouth and indisposition, and to drawe to him from those y<sup>t</sup> are studious, respecte and commendation. But lett him beware that they possesse not too much of his time, that they abstraēt not his iudgm<sup>t</sup> from pnt experience, nor make him psume vpon knowing much [to applye the lesse. For the warres, I denie him no enterprise that shalbe worthie in greatenes, likely in successe, or necessarie in duetie; not] mixed w<sup>th</sup> anie circumstances of jelosie, but duellie laid vpon h[im But I] will not haue him take the allarū from his owne humor, [but from the] occasion; and I woulde againe he should knowe an empl[oymēt from a discour]ting. And for his loue, lett him not soe disarmē his he[art within, as it m]ake him too credulous to favours, not too tender to [unkindness, not too ap]te to depende vpon the harte he knoweth n[ot. Nay in his demonstra]tions of loue, let him not goe to [far; for these silly lovers, when they profess such infinite affection and obligation, they tax themselves at so high a rate that they are ever under arrest. It makes their service seem nothing, and every cavil or imputation very

NOTE.—In the Gibson Manuscript this speech is headed "The statesman's speech."

one humour to another.—GIBSON.

humor of war is raving.—GIBSON.

pnt = present.

nor too tender to unkindnesses, nor too apt to depend upon the heart he knows of.—GIBSON.

See Note on page 57.

experimented counsellors. —  
GIBSON.

the winning of cheife ministers  
about other princes without  
Jealousie is omitted in the  
Gibson Manuscript.

with treasure is omitted in  
the Gibson Manuscript.

Spedding suggests that this  
masque may have been  
a sequel to some former  
device of the kind; in  
which Philautia, the  
goddess of Self-Love,  
had been represented as  
addressing some persua-  
sion to the Queen (pro-  
bably against giving way  
to her affections for Ero-  
philus) and had been  
answered by her Squire.

extenuate = entertain.

when a man doth not forgett  
so much as a circumstance,  
men do thinke.—GIBSON.

that are not merely pertinent.  
—GIBSON.

greate. But, Squior, what is thy m<sup>rs</sup> ende? If to make y<sup>e</sup> prince hap]pie whom he serues, lett the instruccons to employed men, y<sup>e</sup> relacons of] Ambassadors, the treaties betwixte princes, and y<sup>e</sup> accons of the present] time, be the bookes he reads. Lett the orations of wise Princes or experienced counsellors in Councell or Parleam<sup>t</sup>, and the finall sentences of graue and learned iudges in waightie and doubtfull causes, be the lectures he frequentes. Lett the holding of affeccion in confederates w<sup>th</sup>out chardge, the frustrating of y<sup>e</sup> attemptes of ene- m]ies w<sup>th</sup>out batailles, the winning of cheife ministers about other princes w<sup>th</sup>out Jealousie, the intituling of the Crowne to newe possessions w<sup>th</sup>out showe of wronge, the filling of y<sup>e</sup> Princes' cofers w<sup>th</sup> treasure w<sup>th</sup>out grudging, the suppressing of tumults and seditions w<sup>th</sup>out violence, the keeping of men in appetite w<sup>th</sup> out impacience, be the inventions he seekes out. Lett pollices & matters of state be the cheifest, and almost onelie things he intendes. But if he will beleue *Philautia*, and seeke most his owne happines, he must not of them embrace all kyndes, but make choice, and auoid all matte<sup>rs</sup> of perrill, of displeasure, and chardge, and turne them ouer to some nouice that knowes not manacles from braceletts, burthens from roabes. For himself, lett him seeke for matters of comodities and strengthe, thoughe they be ioyned w<sup>th</sup> envie. Lett him not trouble himself too laboriously to sounde into any matters depely, or to execute any thing exactlie; but lett him make himself cuning rather in the humors & driftes of persons, then in y<sup>e</sup> nature of busines & affaires. Of that it sufficeth onelie to know so much as may make him able to make- vse of other men's witts, and to make againe a smoothe and pleasing reporte. Lett him extenuate y<sup>e</sup> ppositions of others, and even rather lett him haue an eye to y<sup>e</sup> by circūstances then to y<sup>e</sup> matter it selfe; for then he shall ever seeme to adde somew<sup>t</sup> of his owne; and besydes, when a man doth not forgett, men do thinke his witt doth supabbonde for the substance. In his councells lett him not be confident, for that will make him obnoxious to the successe; but lett him follow y<sup>e</sup> wisdom of oracles, w<sup>ch</sup> vttered y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> euer might be applied to y<sup>e</sup> event. And ever rather lett him take y<sup>e</sup> syde w<sup>ch</sup> is likeliest to be followed, then y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> issoundest and best, y<sup>t</sup> euerie thing may seeme to be carried by his d[irection. To conclude, lett him be true to himself, & awoide all tedious reaches of state, that are not nearlie ptinent to his pticular. And if he will neades pursue his affeccion, and go on his course, w<sup>t</sup> can [so much aduaunce him in his owne way? The merritt of warr is too [outwardly glorious to be inwardly gratefull, and it is the exile of y<sup>e</sup> [eye, which looking wi]th such affeccion vpon the picture, cannot but w<sup>th</sup>inf[inite content- ment behold] y<sup>e</sup> life. But when his m<sup>rs</sup> shall pceaue his [endeavours are to become a true suppo]rter of her, a dischardge of care, a [watchman of her person, a scholar of her wisdom] an instrum<sup>t</sup> of [her operation, and a conduit of her virtue, this with his diligences, accesses, humility and patience, may move her to give him further degrees and approaches to her favour. So that I conclude I have traced him the way to that which hath been granted to some few, *amare et sapere*, to love and be wise.

## *The Squyors speech.*

Wandering Hermit, Storming Souldier, and hollow penman, [the enchant-  
-ting Orators of *Philautia*, w<sup>ch</sup> haue attempted by yor high [charms  
to turne resolued *Erophilus* into a statua depriued of accon, or [into  
a vulture attending about deade bodies, or into a monster w<sup>th</sup> [a double  
harte; w<sup>th</sup> infinite assurance, but w<sup>th</sup> iust indignacon, and for[ced  
pacience, I haue suffered you to bring in play yor whole forces. [For  
I would not vouchsalfe to combate you one by one, as if I trusted [to the  
goodnes of my breath and not to y<sup>e</sup> goodnes of my strength, w<sup>ch</sup> [little  
needeth the advantadge of yo<sup>r</sup> seuering, and much lesse of yo<sup>r</sup> dis[agreeing.  
Therfor, first, I would learne of you all w<sup>t</sup> assurance you haue of [the  
fruit whereto you aspire, You (Father) that ptende truth & kno[wledge,  
how are you assured that you adore not vaine cimereas and imagine[tions?  
that in your high pspect, when you see men wander vp & down, [that  
they stande not indeed still in their place, and it is some smoke [or cloud  
betweene you and them that moueth, or else the dazeling of your [own  
eyes? Haue not manie w<sup>ch</sup> take themselues inward counsellors w<sup>th</sup> [nature  
proued but idle beleeuers, that tould vs tales y<sup>t</sup> were no such matter?  
And, souldier, w<sup>t</sup> securitie haue you for theise victories & garlandes w<sup>ch</sup>  
you pmise to yo<sup>r</sup> selfe? Knowe you not many w<sup>ch</sup> haue made pusion  
lawrell for the victorie, and haue ben fayne to chaunge it w<sup>th</sup> cipres for [the  
funeralls! Of many w<sup>ch</sup> haue bespoken fame to sounde their triumphes  
and haue ben glad to pray her saie nothing of them, and not to discouer  
them in theyr flyghtes? Corrupte Statsman, you that thinke by yo<sup>r</sup>  
by engins and mocons to governe the wheele of fortune; knowe ye not y<sup>e</sup>  
clockes cannot be long in temper, that Juglers are no longer in re-  
quest when their trickes and sleightes are once perceaued? Nay do you  
not see that neuer any man made his owne cūning and practize  
(w<sup>th</sup>out regarde of religion, honor, or morrall honesty) his foundacon  
but he ouerbuilt himselfe, and in the ende made his house but a windf[all?  
But giue ear now to the comparison of my m<sup>ts</sup> condicion, I acknowl[edge  
such a difference as is betweene the melting hailestone and y<sup>e</sup> solyde  
pear]le. Indeede it seemeth to depende as the globe of y<sup>e</sup> earth seemeth to h[ang  
in] the ayre; but yett it is firme and stable in itselfe. It is like a c[ube  
or die] forme, w<sup>ch</sup> tosse it or throwe it any way, it euer lighteth vpp[on  
a square.] Is he denied his hopes of favo<sup>rst</sup> of come? He can resorte to  
the] chaunce of contentm<sup>ts</sup> past; Destiny cannot repeale y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> is [past.  
Doth he find the] acknowledgm<sup>t</sup> of his affeccion the greater; [fortune  
cannot have power over that] w<sup>ch</sup> is w<sup>th</sup>in. Naie his falls are [like the falls  
of *Antaeus*; they renew his strength.] His clowdes are like the [clouds of  
harvest, which make] the [sun break forth with greater force; his wanes and  
changes are like the moon, whose globe is all light toward the sun when it is all  
dark toward the world; such is the excellancy of her nature and of his estate.

See Note on page 57.  
hollow statesman.—GIBSON.

I would know.—GIBSON.

pretend to truth.—GIBSON.

high prospect.—GIBSON.

which moveth.—GIBSON.

to be inward.—GIBSON.

to exchange it.—GIBSON.

by engins. The word by  
should be deleted  
do you not mark that clocks.  
—GIBSON.

regarde of is omitted in the  
Gibson Manuscript.

and acknowledge.—GIBSON.

denied the hopes.—GIBSON.

his affection small.—GIBSON.

See Note on p. 57.

*in a wilderness of variety, . . .  
you are as a man rich in  
pictures, medals.—GIBSON.*

*weat* = is weak.

*pearles* = peerless.

*come out (man of war) you  
must ever be in noise.—  
GIBSON.*

*so deprived.—GIBSON.*

*exercise her lover.—GIBSON.*

*outward person.—GIBSON.*

*servitudes.—GIBSON.*

*of your assurance and of your  
values.—GIBSON.*

*did yield him.—GIBSON.*

*flourishing reign. In thank-  
fulness whereof.—GIBSON.*

*the receiving instructions.—  
GIBSON.*

Attende you beadesman of the Muses, you take yor pleasure in witenesses of varietie; but it is but of shadowes. You are a man richt in pict]ures, mettalls, and christalls. Yor minde is as of water w<sup>ch</sup> taketh all] fourmes and impressions, but weat of substance. Will you compare shadowes w<sup>th</sup> bodies, piçtures w<sup>th</sup> life, the varietie of many bewties with y<sup>e</sup> pearles excellencie of one? Such is y<sup>e</sup> comparison betweene knowledge and loue. Some one man of warr must euer be in noyse. You will giue lawes, and aduance forces, and trouble natiōs, and remoue the landmarks of kingdomes, and hunt men, and pen tragedies in bloude: and that w<sup>ch</sup> is worst of all, make all y<sup>e</sup> vertues accessarie to your bloudshed. Hath y<sup>e</sup> practise of force deprived you of the vse of reason? as that you will compare y<sup>e</sup> interrupcōn of societie w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> perfeccion of societie, the conquestes of bodies w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> conquestes of spiritts, y<sup>e</sup> terrestriall fyre w<sup>ch</sup> destroyeth and dissolueth, w<sup>th</sup> the celestiaall w<sup>ch</sup> quickeneth and giueth life? Such is the comparison between the souldier & y<sup>e</sup> louer. And as for you, vntrue polliticke, but trewest bondman to *Philautia*, you that psume to bynde occasion, and overworke fortune, I would ask you but one question. Did euer any Ladie (hard to please, or disposed to exercise her loue) enioyne him so harde tasks & comandem<sup>ts</sup> as *Philautia* exacteth of you? While yor life is nothing but a continuall acting vpon a stage; and that yor minde must serue your humor, and yett yo<sup>r</sup> outward parts must serue your endes; so that you carrie in one pson two seuerall seruitors to two contrarie m<sup>rs</sup>. But I will leaue you to the scorne of that m<sup>ris</sup> whom you vndertake to governe; y<sup>t</sup> is, to fortune, to whom *Philautia* hath bounde you. And yett, you comissioners of *Philautia*, I will proceede one degree further. If I allowed both your assurance and yor valewes as you haue sett them, may not my m<sup>r</sup> enioye his owne felicitie, and haue all yors for advantadge? I meane not y<sup>t</sup> hee should deuide himselfe in both pursuites, as in yor fainting tales towardes the conclusyon you did yelde to him. But because all theise are in the handes of his m<sup>ris</sup> more fullie to bestowe then they can be attayned by your addresses, knowledge, fame, and fortune. For the Muses they are tributarie to her Ma<sup>tie</sup> for y<sup>e</sup> greate libertie they haue enjoyed in her kingdome during her most flourishing time. In regarde wherof they haue adorned and accomplished her w<sup>th</sup> the guiftes of all y<sup>e</sup> sisters. W<sup>t</sup> library can present such a storie of great accons as hir Ma<sup>tie</sup> carrieth [in her royall breast by the often returne of this happie daie? W<sup>t</sup> worthie or favorite of the Muses is not familiar w<sup>th</sup> her? or w<sup>t</sup> language the] Muses haue ben vsed to speake is vnknownen vnto her? Th[erefore the he]aring her, the obseruing her, the reasoning, the instruccon [from her may] be to *Erophile* a leçture exceeding all deade monum<sup>ts</sup> [of the Muses. For Fame], can all the exploytes of warr winne him s[uch a title, as to have the name] favorite and selected seruante to s[uch a Queen? For Fortune, can any insolent politique promise to himself such a fortune by making his own way, as the excellency of her nature cannot deny to a careful, obsequious, and dutiful servant? And if he could, were it equal honour

to attaine it by a shape of cūning, then by the guifte of such a ha[nd. Therfor *Erophil's* resolution is fixed: He renounceth *Philantia*, and [all her inchauntem<sup>ts</sup>. He expecteth nothing and all things from his m<sup>ris</sup>. [For her recreacon he will conferr w<sup>th</sup> the Muses; for her defence and honor [he will sacrificize his life in the warres, hoping to be embalmed in the swe[et odours of her remembraunce; to her service he will consecrate all his [watch full indevors; and will euer beare in his hearte, the picture of her beautie, in his accons of her will, and in his fortune of her grace and favor.

*See Note on page 57.*

*by a shop of cunning.—GIBSON.*

*He expecteth nothing and all things from his mistress. This is omitted from the Gibson Manuscript.*

ffor the Earle of Sussex at y<sup>e</sup> tilt, an: 96.

MS. Folio 53-54.

**N**OTHING is known of the authorship of this short speech, and no other copy has been found either in print or in manuscript. The date [1596] on which it was spoken has been preserved, and so it naturally follows the preceding speeches, which were delivered in November, 1595. Mr. Spedding suggests that "this is a speech made to be spoken at one of the Court triumphs, and is written in the artificial style which it was the fashion to affect in them; which makes it the more difficult to supply the lost words. It is addressed to the Queen, and meant apparently to convey an apology for the absence of the Earl of Essex, who was very likely keeping aloof in one of his fits of discontent."

The speaker was Robert Ratcliffe, son of Henry Ratcliffe, the fourth Earl, he was born *circa* 1570, and succeeded as fifth Earl of Sussex in 1593.

*ffor the Earle of Sussex at y<sup>e</sup> tilt an : 96*

Most devine and more mightie then y<sup>t</sup> Queene to whom all other Qu[eenes are subiect, I meane fortune, y<sup>t</sup> making chaunce as firme as cert[ainty : turnes each to other that both may be neyther. Y<sup>t</sup> in being y<sup>e</sup> slaue of [her who endes the misteries of her rule, commaundes death to beginne the takeing away y<sup>e</sup> inioyers of ryches, bestowes them on others that can so possesse them. Even she, most absolute Princesse, of her, hath made [the knight himself before he was himselfe, who not able to rule her bounty at y<sup>e</sup> greatest, now being lesse, they rule him, and he is become y<sup>e</sup> servant of that he is lorde. So that in his power his servuice is limitted, while his will is infinite. Often and most movinglie hath the graue genious of yor Ma<sup>ty</sup> most faithfull servant his vncle, and of his honoured father un-chaungeable appeared vnto him, still obiecting to his yong & wandering eyes the auncient and constant honor of his howse ; but sustaining in [most of his accons, repulse of his indeu<sup>ots</sup>. At last they invited sickenes, who is strongest in weaknes, to applie himself to his imperfeccons, and in sub[iecting his sensuall parte, to giue his soule y<sup>e</sup> conquest and mannadge of his acts. By whose forcible importunitie, he then vowed to theise noble appariti[ons vpon his recouerie, to retire himself so long from himselfe, till he loste [him selfe in them, and then come forward to their perfeccions. In signe of [w<sup>ch</sup> vnfaigned conversion he was patient that sickenes should alter his forme, as their counsells had reformed his minde. The woundes of whose disease still sticking in his forheade, shalbe no maimes vnto his favor, yf yo[ur high bounties intitule them the markes of yors. Then most deare sover[aigne notw<sup>th</sup>standing absence in affeccion will still sitt in yor servaunts bosom, like heate and cold in the wombe of thunder, and be readie in concealm[ent of his loue to lighten out his life w<sup>th</sup> impulsion. Voutesalfe the formal[ity of an] easie suite of his retreate, that in the humble rooffe of a poore Ho[use he may] liue as secure w<sup>th</sup> out pompe, as heere he was pompous w<sup>th</sup> [out

y<sup>e</sup> = thatobjecting = plainly present-  
ing.

pollicie, y<sup>t</sup> directes favor, and state y<sup>t</sup> exactes ryches ; w<sup>th</sup>  
dismisse him from personall attendaunce. Therfor making a  
thoughts of yor favors past and w<sup>soeuer</sup> present grace  
to imparte in depth of his vncheerfull solitude he will  
comforte as the eternall fountaine from whence it springs  
he humblie resignes his consecrated launce  
it offers vp his hearte for pledge

*(The MS. is imperfect, several lines destroyed.)*

MS. Folio 54.

feared and beloued most sweet and gracious soveraigne, to seeke  
excuses for this my boldnes, and to arme the acknowledging the acknowld  
reasons for might better showe. I knewe I did amisse amisse then ami  
deminishe the attempt especiallie in your iudgm<sup>t</sup>, who are able liuelie to looke  
the thing downe y<sup>t</sup> were follie in your self scandale

in your h        refusing  
                 h        himself  
                 h h h        h        armes  
                 he h    h h h h    ar armes  
   thirty

NOTE.—These five lines are unintelligible as they are written. Probably the writer, after making mistakes in lines two and three, decided to rewrite the page, and used the paper for scribbling purposes. The writing is much smaller than that upon Folio 53, although by the same hand.

# Letter to Queen Elizabeth, dissuading her from marrying the Duke of Anjou.

Written in 1580 by Sir Philip Sidney.

MS. Folio 55-61.

**T**HIS letter was written by Sir Philip Sidney in opposition to the proposed marriage of the Queen with the Duke of Anjou, the younger son of Catherine de' Medici. Negotiations for the marriage began in 1571, when the suitor (who was then Duke d'Alençon) was not seventeen years of age, and Elizabeth was forty; they continued for thirteen years, and were only terminated by the death of the prince in 1584.

It has never been determined whether this lengthy courtship was mere acting on Elizabeth's part, or a case of absolute infatuation. The prince was a dwarf and scarred with smallpox. His face was disfigured and his nose had a double enlargement at its end, which prompted the wits to say that it was a symbol of his double-facedness. His appearance, as he sat, huddled up in a chair, was so frog-like that the Queen gave him the nickname of "*petite grenouille*." This he did not resent, as a letter (now preserved at Hatfield) from Simier, the French ambassador, proves. Mr. Hume gives the following translation of it in his book, "The Courtships of Queen Elizabeth":

"Madame, I must tell you how little rest your frog had last night, he has done nothing but sigh and weep. At eight o'clock he made me get up to discourse to him of your divine beauty, and of his great grief at leaving your Majesty, the jailor of his heart, the mistress of his liberty. Only his hope that he will soon see you again gives him some consolation. He has sworn to me a thousand times, but for that he would not wish to live another quarter of an hour. Do not then be so cruel to him, as he desires only to preserve his life so long as you are kind. Before he was out of bed he seized the pen and has ordered me to send off Captain Bourg with this, pending my own return to you, which will be as soon as I see him at sea with his sails spread. The weather is beautiful and the sea calm and I expect he will have a fair passage, unless he swell the waves with the abundance of his tears. The monkey takes the liberty of humbly kissing your lovely hands."



It can well be understood that such a marriage would provoke opposition. Many pamphlets were printed, vehemently denouncing the alliance, and the Queen, in return, issued a fierce proclamation calling them "seditious and lewde." John Stubbs, the author of one of them entitled "The discovery of a gaping gulf wherein England is likely to be swallowed by another French Marriage," had his right hand cut off for writing it, and was imprisoned for eighteen months.

It was under these circumstances that Sidney penned the remarkable letter here printed, and to Elizabeth's credit it must be said that she received his nobly-worded remonstrance with less displeasure than could have been expected. His punishment was exclusion from the Court for a year. He spent the time in the country (according to Aubrey, at Ivychurch), and solaced himself with literature, for to this date is attributed the composition of his great work, the "Arcadia."

From 1580 to 1584 the letter had a limited circulation in manuscript. It first appeared in print in the "Cabala, sive Scrinia Sacra," published in 1663, but this must have been printed from a very imperfect copy, as it contains many blunders. The missing portions of the letter have been supplied from the edition of Sidney's Miscellaneous Works, edited by Mr. William Gray in 1893.

NOTE.—The alternate readings from Mr. Gray's edition are marked GRAY.

*Inn most honoring thy vertue* has been interlined by another hand.

The first *showe* should be deleted.

*who being able to discern lively into the nature of the thing done, it were folly to hope by laying on, etc.*—GRAY.

The word *waightie* has been interlined by another hand. Gray reads *important*.

*I confess shallow, but coming from the deep wellspring of most loyal affection.*—GRAY.

*then will I answer.*—GRAY.

*wont to call over them.*—GRAY.

*what needed they to die so cruelly.*—GRAY.

*hope* is omitted by Gray.

*the more dangerous.*—GRAY.

*agent* and omitted by Gray.

*without being thrust at.*—GRAY.

The second *yo<sup>r</sup> subjects* should be deleted.

Most<sup>t</sup> feared and beloued, most sweat and gracious Lady.

Inn mosth honoring thy vertue

Most feared and beloued, most sweete and gracious soueraigne. To s[ee]k out excuses of this my boldnes, and to arme the acknowledging of a [fault w<sup>th</sup> reasons showe for it, might better showe I knewe I did amisse, [than any<sup>way</sup> diminish the attempt, especially in yo<sup>r</sup> judgm<sup>t</sup>, w<sup>ch</sup> is able liuelie [to discern into the thing donne, y<sup>t</sup> were follie w<sup>th</sup> laieing on better coul[ours, to make it more acceptable. Therfor carrieng no other braunch of intercession, then the laieng me at yo<sup>r</sup> feet; nor no other insinuation eyther for attention or pardon, but true vowed sacrifice of vnfained loue; I will, [in simple and direct termes (as hoping they shall onelie come to yo<sup>r</sup> mer[ciful eyes,) sett downe the ouerflowing of my minde in this most<sup>waightie</sup> matter, import[ing as I thinke, the continuance of yo<sup>r</sup> saftetie; and as I knowe, the ioyes of [my life. And because my wordes (shallow I must needes confesse, but coming from the wellspring of, my loiall affeccon) haue deliuered to yo<sup>r</sup> gracious eares w<sup>t</sup> is the some of my traueiling thoughts therein, I will but onelie declare w<sup>t</sup> be the reasons that make me thinke the marriadge of Mounsieier to be vnprofitable for you; then will aunswer, the obiections of those feares y<sup>t</sup> might procure so violent a refuge. The good and evill that may come to you by [it must be considered eyther according to yo<sup>r</sup> estate or persone. To yo<sup>r</sup> estate, w<sup>t</sup> can be added to the being an absolute borne, and accordinglie respected, Princesse? But as they say the Irishmen are wont to tell them that die that “they are ryche, they are faire, w<sup>t</sup> neede they dye: so trewlie”: not vnfittlie to you, endowed w<sup>th</sup> felicities aboue all others, a man might well aske “whie in such a calme you chaunge course; to so helthful a boddie to applye so needelesse a medicine; w<sup>t</sup> hope can recompence so hazardous an adventure.” Hazardous indeed were it for nothing but the altring of a well maintained and well approued trade: for, as in bodies natu[ral] any sudden chaunge is not w<sup>th</sup>out perrill; so to this bodie polliticke whereof you are the onelie heade, it is so much the more as there are more humors to receyue hurtfull impression. But hazardes are the more to be regarded, when the nature of the agent and patient are fittly composed to occasion them. The patient I account the realme, the agent Mounsieur and his followers; for neither outward accidents do much prevaile against a true inward strength; nor inwarde weaknes lightlie subuert itselfe w<sup>th</sup>out being hurt by some outward force. [Your inward force (for as for yo<sup>r</sup> treasure the sinewes of yo<sup>r</sup> crowne, [your Majesty doth best and onelie know) consisteth in yo<sup>r</sup> subiects, yo<sup>r</sup> subiects [generally vnexpert in warlike defence; and as they are diuided into [mighty faccons, (and faccons bounde vpon the neuer looseable knot [of religion) the] one is of them, to whom yo<sup>r</sup> ma<sup>tie</sup> hath graunted the [free exercise of the eternal] truth; w<sup>th</sup> theise by the continuaunce of [time, by the multitude of them, by the] principall offices and strength [they hold, and lastly by your dealings both at home] and abroad w<sup>th</sup> the [adverse party: your state is so entrapped, as it were impossible for you, without excessive trouble, to pull yourself out of the party so long maintained. For such a course once taken in hand, is not so much unlike a ship in a tempest, which how

daungerouslie soeuer it be beaten w<sup>th</sup> waues, yet is there no saftetie no<sup>r</sup> succo<sup>r</sup> w<sup>th</sup>out. Theise, therfor, as their soules liue by yo<sup>r</sup> happie goverm<sup>t</sup>, so are they euer yo<sup>r</sup> cheif, if not yo<sup>r</sup> sole, strength: theise, howsoeuer the necessetie of human] life make them lacke, yet can they not look for better condition then they psentlie enioy: theise, how their harts wilbe gald if not alienated, when they shall see you take to a housband, a ffrench man and Papist, in whom (howsoeuer fine witts maie find evasion of daunger by painted excuses,) the verie comons know that he is the<sup>t</sup> verie Jesabell of o<sup>ur</sup> adge: that he is y<sup>e</sup> brother of him that made oblation of his owne sisters marriadge, the easier to makes massacres of all sexes, that he himself contrarie to his oathe to his owne promise, and against all gratefullnes, having had his libertie and principall estate chiefelie by the Hugenottes' meanes did sacke LaCharitie, and vtterlie fire it w<sup>th</sup> fire and sworde. This, I say, euen at first sight, giues occasion to all the true religious, to abhore such a M<sup>r</sup>, and consequentlie to diminishe much of that hopefull loue they haue long held to you. The other faccon, most rightlie, indeed, to be called a faccon, is that of the Papists: men whose spirritts are full of anguish, some being forced to oathes they accont dampnable; some having their ambition stopped, because they are not in the way of aduancem<sup>t</sup>; some in prison and disgrace; some whose best frendes are banisht practisers; manie judging you rightfullie disabled by the Popes excommuicon; all burthened w<sup>th</sup> the wayght of their consciences; men of great nombers, of greate riches, because the affaires of state haue not layn vpon them: men of vnited mindes (as all men y<sup>t</sup> deeme themselues oppressed are). W<sup>th</sup> theise I would willinglie ioine all discontented persons, such as want and disgrace keepes lower then they haue sett their harts; such as are resolued w<sup>t</sup> to looke for at yo<sup>r</sup> handes; such as Cæsar saith, "*quibus opus est bello civili,*" and are of Othus mind, "*malle in acie quam in cadere.*" Theise be men by somuch the more to be doubted, because, as they do embrace all estates; so are they commonlie of the brauest and wakefullest sorte; and that know the advantadge of the world most. This double race of people, how their mindes haue stooode; the Northron rebellion, and diuers other practices, haue well taught you: w<sup>ch</sup> if it be said, it did not preuaile, it is trew indeed: for if they had preuaild, it were to late now to deliberate. But, at this pnt, they want nothing so much as a heade, who in effecte needs but receiue their instruccons: since they may do mischiefe enoughe but w<sup>th</sup> his countenance. [Let the singing man in kyng H: the fourths time, Perkyn Warbecke, [in your graundfathers time; but of all, the most liuelie and proper [is that of Lewes, the ffrench kings sonne, in k. H. the 3 time: who h[aving at all no show of title, yett did halfe the nobilitie and more, to swear direct] fealtie and vassalladge; and deliuered the strongest [holds unto him. Let these be] sufficient to proue, that occasion causeth mindes to [stranger things] then euer would haue ben imagined. If then [the affectionate side have their affe] con weakened, and the discontented a gap [to utter their discontent: I think it will seem an ill preparative for the patients (I mean your estate) to a great sickness.

Now the agent party, which is Monsieur; whether he be not apt to work on the disadvantage of your estate, he is to be judged by his will and power: his will to be as full of light ambition as is possible

See Note on previous page.

howsoever fine wits may find farther dealings or painted excuses—the very common people well know this, that he is the son of a Jezebel of our age.—GRAY.

massacres of our brethren in belief, that he himself contrary to his promise and all gratefulness, etc.—GRAY.

some being infested by others whom they account damnable.—GRAY.

many thinking you are an usurper: many thinking also you had disannulled your right, because of the Pope's excommunication.—GRAY.

and are of his mind, "*malo in acie, quam in foro cadere.*"—GRAY.

This double rank.—GRAY.

the singing man. This was the priest John Magdalen, chaplain to Richard II.

yet did he cause.—GRAY.

minde and scope to stranger.—GRAY.

See Note on page 68.

against his brother, his thrusting, etc.—GRAY.

There is something wrong in this line. Gray reads *evil contentment a ground of any rebellion; who have seen no common wealth but in faction, etc.* But this must be incorrect.

should be content to come to be.—GRAY.

affected members.—GRAY.

popular nation.—GRAY.

Neither is King Philip's marriage here any example.—GRAY.

K. H. = King Henry.

hath made vain.—GRAY.

danger to your estate royal. And as to your person, in the scale of your happiness, etc.—GRAY.

the universall doubt, the race's unfaithfulness.—GRAY.

far less reputation than his mind will well brook having no other royalty to countenance him with.—GRAY.

The interlineation is from the Cabala. There was not room enough for so many words in this manuscript, unless it was written in the margin.

besides the ffrench disposition, and his owne education; his vnconstant [temper against, his thrusting himself into the Lowe Countrie matters; his some [time seeking the Kyng of Spaine his daughter, and sometimes yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>t</sup>; [are euident tokens and testimonies and his being carried away w<sup>th</sup> every [wind of hope. Taught to loue greatnes anie way gotten, and having for the [motioners and ministers of his minde, onelie such younge men as haue showed [they think euill discontentm<sup>t</sup> a sufficient ground of any rebellion, whose adge gi [to have seen no commonwealth but in faccon; and diuers of w<sup>ch</sup> have [defiled their handes in odious murthers. W<sup>th</sup> such fauncies and favorites [what is to be hoped; that he wilbe conteyned w<sup>th</sup>in the limitts of yo<sup>r</sup> conditions. Since [in truth he that cannot be content to be the second person in ffraunce, & heir apparaunte, would come to be the second person in England where he [should no way ptende soueraignetie. His power I imagine, is not to be [despised, since he is come into a countrie, where the waie of euill doing wilbe [presented vnto him; where there wantes nothing but a heade, to drawe together [all the ill affected humors. Himself a prince of great renewes, of the most populous nation of the world, full of souldiers, and such as serue [without paie, if they may haue showe of spoile. And w<sup>th</sup>out question shall [have his brother, in suche a case readie to healpe him, as well for ould revenge, [as to diuerte him from troubling ffraunce, and to deliuer his owne country from evill humors. Neither is K. Phi. of o<sup>r</sup> adge heerein anie example; seeing it was betweene two of one relligion, so that he in England, stode onelie upon her strengthe, and had abroad K. H. of ffraunce, readie to empeach anie enterprize he should make for his greatnes that waie. [And yett w<sup>t</sup> euents time would haue brought forth of that marriage, your [most blessed raigne hath made voide all such consideracons. But things holden in the psent state, I thinke I maie iustlie conclude that yo<sup>r</sup> [country as well being by long peace, and frutes of peace, as by the poison of [division where the faithfull shall by this meanes be wounded & the contrarie [enabled and made fitt to receyue hurt; and Mounsieur being euerie waie apt to vse [the occacon to hurte, there can almost happion no worldlie thing of more [eminent daunger to yo<sup>r</sup> estate roiall and to yo<sup>r</sup> person. The verie seale of y<sup>r</sup> hap[piness, w<sup>t</sup> may there come to ballaunce the losse of so honorable a cons[tancy: trewlie, yett I perceiue not. I will not shew so much mallice as to [object the vniuersall doubt of all that races vnhelthfullnes; neither will I [lay to his] chardge the aguelike manner of proceeding, sometimes<sup>hot</sup>, sometimes cold, [in the time] of pursuite w<sup>ch</sup> alwaies rightlie is most fervent; and I will tem[per my spee]ches from anie other vnreuerent disgracing of him,<sup>in</sup> p<sup>t</sup>iculer [(though they might] be neuer so trew) this onelie will I saie, if he do come hither, [he must live here in] farr meaner reputacon then his minde will brooke having [no other royal] tie to content him w<sup>th</sup>; or else you must deliuer him [the keys of your kingdom,] and liue at his discreacon; or lastlie he most sep[erate himself with more dishonour and further disuni]ting of harte then euer before. Ofte<sup>have</sup> [I heard you with protestation say that] no priuate pleasure nor [self affection could lead you to it; but if it be both unprofitable for your kingdom, and unpleasant to you, certainly it were a dear purchase of repentance. Nothing can it add unto you, but the bliss of children, which I confess, were a most unspeakable comfort; but yet no more appertaining unto him, than to any other

[to whom the height of all good haps, were allotted to be your husband; and] there] for I maie assuredlie affirme that w<sup>t</sup> good soeuer maie followe marriadge, is] no more his then anie bodies; but the evils and daungers are perticulerlie his person and condicon. For as for the inriching yo<sup>r</sup> countrie w<sup>th</sup> treasure, which] eyther he hath not, or hath otherwise to bestowe it; nor the staieng of your] servauntes mindes w<sup>th</sup> new expectacons and liberalitie, w<sup>ch</sup> is more daungerous than fruitfull; or the easing your Ma<sup>tie</sup> of yo<sup>r</sup> cares, w<sup>ch</sup> is as much as to say] as the easing you to be a Queene and Sovereigne. I thinke euerie bodie pe]rciues this waie to be eyther full of hurt or voide of helpe. Now resteth to] consider w<sup>t</sup> be the motives of this sodaine chaunge, as I haue heard you in m]oft wordes deliuer: *feare of standing alone in respecte, feare of contempte*. Trewlie as standing alone, w<sup>th</sup> good foresight both of peace govern<sup>t</sup> and warr defence, is the honorablest that can be to a well established monarchie. Those buildingseuer being most sure and durable w<sup>ch</sup> leaning on <sup>[no]</sup> other, remaine firme vpon their owne foundations. So yett in the pticularities of yo<sup>r</sup> estate psent, I will not denie altogetther denie but a trewe Masinissa were verie fitt to countermine the enterprizes of mightie Carthage: but how this generall truth cann be applied to Mounsieur, in truth I perceiue not. The wisest that haue giuen best rules, w<sup>th</sup> whom strongest leagues are to be made, haue ever said that it must be betweene such as eyther vehement desire of a third thing, or a vehement feare doth knitt their mindes together. Desire is counted the weaker bond, but yett that knott so manie princes together to the expedition of the Hollie Lande, that vnited the inuincible K. H. 5. w<sup>th</sup> Phillipp the good Duke of Burgundy, the one desirous to winne the Crowne of Fraunce from the Dolphin, the other desirous to reuenge his fathers mother upon the Dolphin: both w<sup>ch</sup> tended to one. That coupled Lewes the 12 and Ferdinando of Naples, to the conquest of Naples. Of feare there are innuerable examples: Mounsieur's desires & yo<sup>rs</sup>, how they should meet in publicke matters, I thinke no oracle can tell, for as the Geometricians say, parallels because they maintaine generall diuers, can neuer meete, so trewlie, two, having in their beginings diuerse principles, to bring forth one doctrine, surelie must be some miracle. He of the Romish religion; and therfor if he be a man, must needes haue that manlicke disposition, to desire all men be of his minde. You, the erecter and defender of the contrarie, and the onelie sunne that dazeleth their eyes. He French, and desiring to make Fraunce great: yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup> English, and desiring no <sup>thinge</sup> lesse than that Fraunce should waxe great. He both by his owne fancy and youthfull govern<sup>t</sup>, embracing all ambitious hopes having Alexa<sup>n</sup>der's image in his heade, but perchaunce ill painted. Yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup> w<sup>th</sup> excellent vir]tue taught w<sup>t</sup> <sup>you</sup> should hope, and by no lesse wisdom w<sup>t</sup> you may [hope. W<sup>th</sup> a counsell renowned ouer all christians for their well temp[er]ed minds,] having sett the vttermost of their ambition in your favour, and [the study of] their soules in yo<sup>r</sup> safetie. Feare hath as little shew of reason [or outward appear]aunce to match you together. For in this state he is in, w[hom should he fear,—his] brother? whie alas his brother is afraide of him, [since the King of Navarre is to] stepp into his place. Neither can his brother [be safer by his fall, but he] may be the greater by his brothers; whereto, [whether you will be an accessary you are to] determine. The King of [Spain certainly cannot make war upon him, but it must be upon all the crown of France,

See Note on page 68.

*peculiarly annexed to his person.—GRAY.*

*the easing of your Majesty of cases.—GRAY.*

*most sweet words deliver: feare of standing alone in respect of foreign dealings; and in them from whom you should have respect, doubt of contempt. Truly standing alone, with good foresight of government both of peace and warlike defence. etc.—GRAY.*

*but yet that bound so many princes to the Holy Land.—GRAY.*

*K. H. 5 = King Henry V.*

*Dolphin = Dauphin.*

*his father's murder.—GRAY.*

*Ferdinando of Naples, should read of Spain.*

*maintain diuers lines can never join.—GRAY.*

*He both by own fancy and youthful governors.—GRAY.*

*over all christendom.—GRAY.*

See Note on page 68.

*if I had heard it proceed from  
out of your mouth, which  
of all other I do most dearly  
reuerence.—GRAY.*

*danger of contempt, to whom  
fortunes are tied by so long  
descent, etc.—GRAY.*

*found fit to blaze you by.—  
GRAY.*

*The sentence from As I to  
followe thereof is omitted  
by Gray.*

*the effects, as you term them,  
appear by cherishing some  
abominable speeches which  
some hellish minds have  
uttered.—GRAY.*

*for it useth men.—GRAY.*

*brings forth, certainly the  
length of time, rather  
breeds a mind to think  
there is no other life but in  
it, than that there is any  
tediousness in so fruitful a  
government.—GRAY.*

*and your Majesty shall find.  
—GRAY.*

*As for the uncertainty.—GRAY.*

*common reason and profit  
would teach us.—GRAY.*

*said if your Majesty's speech  
of the rising son.—GRAY.*

*according to the flourish and  
breath.—GRAY.*

[which is no likelihood he will do. Well may Monsieur (as he hath done) seek to enlarge the bounds of France upon this state : which likewise, whether it be safe for you to be a countenance] unto, cannot anie waie be seen. So that if neither feare nor desire be such [in him as are to binde anie publicke fastness, it may be said, that the onelie fort[ress of this marriadge is his priuate affeccion, a thing to incident to yo<sup>r</sup> person laieng it vp in such gordian knotts. The other objeccion of contempt in [your subiects I do assure y<sup>or</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup>, if that I had not heard it proceede from [you I do of all the rest most dearelie reuerence, it would as soone (consider [ing the perfeccions of yo<sup>r</sup> bodie and minde [have] sett to all mens eyes by the height [of your estate) haue come to the possibilitie of my imagination, as if one [should haue tould me on the contrarie side, that the greatest princesse of the [world should envie the estate of some poore deformed pilgrime. W<sup>t</sup> is w<sup>th</sup>in y[ou, or w<sup>th</sup>out, that can possibly fall into the degree of contempte, to whom [our fortunes are tied by twoo long discent of yo<sup>r</sup> roill auncesto<sup>rs</sup>? Ou<sup>r</sup> mindes [rejoice w<sup>th</sup> experience of yo<sup>r</sup> inward vertues and o<sup>r</sup> eyes delighted w<sup>th</sup> the sight [of you. But because yo<sup>r</sup> owne eyes cannot see yo<sup>r</sup> selfe, neither can there be in the [world any example founde fitt to ghuesse you by, I beseeche you to weigh the[grounds thereof. As I imagine you suppose to naturall causes thereof, and two [effects you thinke will followe thereof. The naturall causes be the length of gov[ernment, and vncertaintie of succession; the effectes be as you terme it looking to y<sup>e</sup> [face of the sunne and some abominable speaches certaine hellishe minded people haue vttered. The longer a good prince doth raigne, ytt is certaine the more he is esteemed; for there is no man that euer is wearie of well being. And good, encreased to good, makes the same good greater and stronger, for it vseth them to knowe no other course, when eyther men are borne in the time, and so neuer saw other; or haue spent most part of their floreshing time, and so haue no ioye to seeke other. In evill princes, abuse growing upon abuse, accor[ding to the nature of evill, w<sup>th</sup> increase of time, ruins itself. But in so r[are a govern<sup>t</sup>, where neighbours fyres giues vs light to see o<sup>r</sup> owne quietnes, [where nothing wants, that trew adminestrac<sup>on</sup> of iustice brings forth; <sup>or</sup> rather breed[s a mind to thinke on no other life then but that then anie tediousenes of so fruit full sweetenes. Examples of good princes do euer confirme this, who, the longer they raigned, the deeper still they see into their subiectes' hartes. Ne[ither will I trouble you w<sup>th</sup> examples, being so manie and so manifest. Looke in[to yo<sup>r</sup> owne estate, see how willinglie they graunte, and how dutifullie they p[ay such subsidies as you demaunde of them: how they are now lesse troublesome to yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup> in certaine requests, than they were in the begining of yo<sup>r</sup> raigne; and you shall fynd yo<sup>r</sup> ma<sup>tie</sup> hath a people more then euer deuoted to you. As for certaintie of succession, althoughe for my owne part I haue cast y<sup>e</sup> [ut-termost anchor of my hope: yet for England's sake, I would not saie anie thing again]st such a determinacon; but that vncertaine good should bring contem[pt to a cer]taine good, I thinke it is beyonde all reache of reason; naie, trewlie [if there] were no other cause (as theire are infinite) verie common pffitt would teach us] to hould that deare Jewell deare, the losse of w<sup>ch</sup> should bring [us to we know not what;] w<sup>ch</sup> likewise is to be said of the rising sonne; a speach first used in Rome, by] Scilla, as then a populer Cittie where indeed [men were to rise and fall, ac[cording to the foolishe breath of manie headed [con- fusion. But in so lineal a monar-]chie, where euer the infants [sucke the love of

[their rightful prince, who would leaue the beams of so fair a sun, for the dreadful expectation of a diuided company of stars. Virtue and justice are the only bonds of people's love ; and as for that point, many princes have lost their crowns, whose own children were manifest successors ; and some that had their own children used as instruments of their ruin ; not that I] deny] the blisse of children but onelie to show religion and equitie to be of themselues sufficent staie. Neyther is the loue was borne you anie fitt addiccon herevnto ; for the oppression of that religion, liued in manie mens harts, you were knowen to be the favorer. By her losse was the excellentst one to succeede ; by you all blindenes light upon a time, that sees not her misery]. Lastlie, and most properlie to this purpose, she had made an odious match w<sup>th</sup> a straunger (w<sup>ch</sup> is now in question whether your Ma<sup>tie</sup> should do] or noe) so that if your subiectes do at this psent looke to any afterchaunce, it] is but as the pilott to the shipboate, if his shipp should perish ; driuen by] extremitie to the one, but as long as he can w<sup>th</sup> his life, tendring the other. And this I saie, not onelie for the louelie partes w<sup>ch</sup> are in you ; but euen for their owne sakes, since they must needes forsee w<sup>t</sup> tempest threatens them. The last prooffe of this contempt, should be the venomous matter, certaine harts impostunied w<sup>th</sup> wickednes should vtter against you. Certainelie not to be evill spooked of, neyther Christ's hollines nor Cæsars might could<sup>euer</sup> warrant anie ; there b] eing for that no other rule but to doe soe, that they may not iustlie saie euill of you ;] w<sup>ch</sup> whether your Ma<sup>tie</sup> hath not done, I leaue it you, to the sincerenes of your conscience, and wisdom of yo<sup>r</sup> iudgm<sup>t</sup> in the world, to the most manifest fruites and fame thoroughe Europe. Augustus was told, men spake much hurt of him. "*It is no matter,*" said he, "*so long as they are not able to do much hurt.*" And lastlie Charles the 5, to one that tould him, "*Les Hollandois parlent mal* ; "*Mais ill parlient bien,*" answered he. I might make a schollerlike reckoning of many such examples ; it sufficeth that theise great princes knew well enough vpon w<sup>t</sup> winges they flew, and cared little for the barking of a few cures. And trewlie in the behalfe of yo<sup>r</sup> subiectes, I durst w<sup>th</sup> my bloud aunswer it, that there was neuer monarche helde in more precious reckoning of her people ; and before God how can it be otherwise ? For my part, when I heare some lost wretche hath defiled w<sup>th</sup> such a matter, I consider the right nature of blasphemy, whose vnbrideled soule doth delighte to teare that, w<sup>ch</sup> generally is accounted most high and hollie. No, no, most excellent Ladie, do not raze out the impression you haue made in such a multitude of harts ; and lett not the scume of such vile mindes beare anie witnes against yo<sup>r</sup> subiecte's devotion : w<sup>ch</sup> to proceede one point further, if it were otherwise, could little be helped, but rather nourished, and in effect beganne by this. The onelie a-voyding of contempt is loue and feare ; love, as you haue by diuers mea[ns sent into the depth of their soules ; so if aniething can staie so true a for[m it must be the bringing of yo<sup>r</sup>, not self into yo<sup>r</sup> owne likenes, but in new colours] vnto them. Their feare by him cannot be increased, w<sup>th</sup>out appearance of] French forces, the manifest death of your estate. But well maie[it against] him, breade that face, w<sup>ch</sup> [as the tragicke Seneca saith] "*Metu[s in authorem redit,*" Then it is daunger to yo<sup>r</sup> state, as well because by in[ward weakness (princi]pallie caused by deuision) it is fitt to receyue h[arm.

See Note on page 68.

*Neither is the love borne in the Queen your sister's days, any contradiction hereunto, for she was the oppressor of that religion which lived in many men's hearts, whereof you were known, etc.—GRAY.*

*the lively parts that be in you.—GRAY.*

*impostunied = swollen or bloated.*

*to your most manifest.—GRAY.*

*Mais ils patient bien.—GRAY.*

*upon what way they flew.—GRAY.*

*hath defiled such a name with his mouth.—GRAY.*

*The only means of avoiding.—GRAY.*

*anything can stain.—GRAY.*

*the trimming yourself, not in your own likeness.—GRAY.*

*bear that face.—GRAY.*





# LEYCESTER'S COMMONWEALTH.

MS. Folio 63-90.

THIS MS. contains a little less than half of this celebrated political pamphlet; about fourteen folios are missing from the beginning, and a similar number at the end. It was first printed in 1584 upon the Continent and most probably in Antwerp, under the title:—

THE  
COPIE OF A  
LETER, VVRYTEN BY A  
MASTER OF ARTE OF CAMBRIGE,  
TO HIS FRIEND IN LONDON, CON-  
cerning some talke past of late betwveen two vvor-  
shipful and graue men, about the present state, and  
some proceedings of the Erle of Leycefter and  
his friendes in England.

CONCEYVED, SPOKEN  
*and publyshed vvyth most earnest protes-  
tation of al duetyful good vvyl and affe-  
ction, tovvardes her most excellent Ma.  
and the Realm, for vvhoſe good onely it is  
made common to many.*

Iob. Cap. 20. Verf. 27.

Reuelabunt coeli iniquitatem eius, & terra confurget  
aduerfus eum.

The heauens ſhal reueile the vvicked mans iniqui-  
tie, and the earth ſhal ſtand vp to beare vvitnes  
agaynſt hym.

ANNO M. D. LXXXIIII.

The title-page is surrounded by an ornamental border. It was immediately translated into French and Latin, and reprinted in both languages. It circulated in England extensively in manuscript, and was reprinted in 1641 without a printer's name or place of publication. There has been preserved in the

Public Record Office, a letter to the Wardens of the Company of Stationers, dated October 13, 1641, in which the writer, Edward Nicholas, states:—

“I hear there is now printing at one Dawson's, a printer in Thames Street, a book called Leicester's Commonwealth, which I am told is very scandalous to divers of the Lord's ancestors, and a book unfit to be divulged. . . . I pray give order forthwith to stay the printing or dispersing of any of those books until the Lords of Parliament or the Lords of the Council shall meet.”

It is to be presumed that this was done, but the result was that it was reprinted by other printers, who succeeded in getting copies into the market. Thus there are three editions dated 1641, one of which—the suppressed copy—is much rarer than the others.

The first edition, although printed on the Continent, must have had a considerable circulation in England, for the Queen in Council on June 20th, 1585, found it necessary to repudiate its assertions. In a letter addressed to the Magistrates of Cheshire she writes:—

“Her Highness not only knoweth to assured certainty the books and libels against the said Earl to be most malicious, false and scandalous, and such as none but an incarnate devil himself could dream to be true.

The authorship of the pamphlet has never been settled. At the time of publication, and for some years afterwards, it was attributed to Robert Parsons, the Jesuit missionary and controversialist, so much so that it was colloquially termed by his contemporaries, “Father Parson's Greencoat.” This was in allusion to the somewhat unusual colour of the binding and edges of the book. It is interesting to note that one of the two copies preserved in the British Museum, still retains the colour upon its edges. The second copy (the Grenville) has, however, been recently rebound, and *mirabile dictu*, the edges have been carefully gilt, and the distinctive feature of the work destroyed. A letter has been preserved in the manuscript collections of William Cole, now in the British Museum, in which the authorship of the book is discussed. It is addressed to the Rev. Dr. Mosse, at Gray's Inn, and signed C. A. Internal evidence is adduced to prove that Parsons could not have written the work, and Dr. Mosse notes upon the back of the letter that

“Parsons . . . many years after the death of L[eicester] denies himselfe to be author of it. . . . In short the author is very uncertain, and for any thing that appears in it, it may as well be a Protestant's, as a Papist's. I sh<sup>d</sup> rather think it the work of some subtle courtier, who, for safety got it printed abroad, and sent into England under the name of Parsons.”

It has been thought well to reprint the whole of the pamphlet. The missing portions and the side notes are taken from the quarto edition of 1641.

LEYCESTERS  
Common-wealth:

CONCEIVED, SPO-  
KEN AND PUBLI-  
SHED WITH MOST EAR-  
nest protestation of all Du-  
tifull good will and affection  
towards this Realm, for whose  
good onely, it is made com-  
mon to many.

---

Job the 20. verse the 27.

*The Heavens shall reveale his iniquity, and the  
Earth shall rise up against him.*

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Printed 1641.

## *The Epistle Directory ;*

*To M. G. M. In Gracious Street in London.*

*DEARE and loving friend, I received about tenne dayes agoe your letter of the 9, of this present : wherein you demand and sollicite againe the thing, that I so flatly denied you, at my late being in your chamber : I meane, to put in writing the relation which then I made unto you, of the speech had this last Christmas in my presence, betweene my right worshipfull good friend and patron, and his guest the ould Lawyer, of some matters in our state and country. And for that you presse mee very seriously at this instant, both by request and many reasons, to yeeld to your desire herein, and not onely this, but also to give my consent for the publishing of the same, by such secret meanes as you assure mee you can there find out : I have thought good to confer the whole matter with the parties themselves, whom principally it concerneth (who at the receipt of your letter were not farre from mee :) And albeit at the first, I found them averse and nothing inclined to grant your demand : yet after upon consideration of your reasons, and assurance of secresie : (especially for that there is nothing in the same contained, repugnant to charity or to our bounden duty toward our most gracious Princes or Countrey, but rather for the special good of them both, and for the forewarning of some dangers imminent to the same) they have referred over the matter to mee, yet with this Proviso, that they will know nothing, nor yet yeeld consent to the publishing hereof, for feare of some future flourish of the ragged Staffe to come hereafter about their eares, if their names should breake forth : which (I trust) you will provide, shall never happen, both for their security, and for your owne. And with this I will end, assuring you that within these five or six dayes, you shall receive the whole in writing by an other way and secret meanes, neither shall the bearer suspect what hee carrieth : whereof also I thought good to premonish you. And this shall suffice for this time.*

## *The Preface of the Conference.*

NOT long before the last Christmasse, I was requested by a letter from a very worshipfull and grave Gentleman, whose sonne was then my pupill in *Cambridge*, to repaire with my said Scholar to a certaine house of his neare *London*, and there to passe over the Holy-dayes in his company : for that it was determined that in *Hillary* tearme following, his said sonne should bee placed in some Inne of Chancery, to follow the study of the Common-law, and so to leave the Vniversity. This request was gratefull unto mee in respect of the time, as also of the matter, but especially of the company. For that, as I love much the yong Gentleman, my pupile, for his towardlines in religion, learning, and vertue : so much more I doe reverence his Father, for the riper possession of the same ornaments, and for his great wisdom, experience, and grave judgement in affaires of the World that doe occurre : but namely touching our owne Countrey, wherein truly I doe not remember to have heard any man in my life, discourse more substantially, indifferently, and with lesse passion, more love and fidelity, then I have heard him : Which was the cause that I tooke singular delight to be in his company, and refused no occasion to enjoy the same. Which also hee perceiving, dealt more openly and confidently with mee, then with many other of his friends, as by the relation following may well appeare.

Scholar.

The occasion  
of this conference  
and  
meeting.

When I came to the foresaid House by *London*, I found there among other friends, an ancient man that professed the law, and was come from *London* to keepe his Christmasse in that place, with whom at divers former times I had beene well acquainted, for that hee haunted much the company of the said Gentleman my friend, and was much trusted and used by him in matters of his profession, and not a little beloved also for his good conversation, notwithstanding some difference in religion betweene us. For albeit, this Lawyer was inclined to bee a Papist, yet was it with such moderation and reservation of his duty towards his Prince and Countrey and proceedings of the same : as hee seemed alwayes to give full satisfaction in this point to us that were of contrary opinion.

The persons  
and place of  
this conference.

Neither did hee let to protest often times with great affection, that as hee had many friends and kinsfolke of contrary religion to himselfe : so did hee love them never the lesse for their different conscience, but leaving that to God, was desirous to doe them any friendship or service that hee could, with all affection, zeale, and fidelity. Neither was hee wilfull or obstinate in his opinion, and much lesse reprochfull in speech (as many of them bee) but was content to heare whatsoever wee should say to the contrary (as often wee did :) and to reade any booke also that wee delivered him, for his instruction.

A temperate  
Papist.

Which temperate behaviour, induced this Gentleman and mee, to affect the more his company, and to discourse as freely with him in all occurrents, as if hee had beene of our owne religion.

## *The Entrance to the Matter.*

The Booke of justice. ONE day then of the Christmasse, we three retiring our selves after dinner, into a large Gallery, for our recreation, (as often we were accustomed to doe, when other went to cards and other pastimes :) this Lawyer by chance had in his hand a little booke, then newly set forth, containing *A defence of the publique justice done of late in England, upon divers Priests and other Papistes for treason* : Which booke, the Lawyer had read to himselfe a little before, and was now putting it up into his pocket ; But the Gentleman my friend, who had read over the same once or twice in my company before, would needs take the same into his hand againe, and asked the Lawyer his judgement upon the booke.

Lawyer. The Lawyer answered : That it was not evill penned in his opinion to prove the guiltines of some persons therein named in particular, as also to perswade in generall, that the Papistes both abroad and at home, who meddle so earnestly with defence and increase of their religion (for these are not all, said he) doe consequently wish and labour some change in the state : but yet whether so farre forth, and in so deepe a degree of proper treason, as here in this booke both in generall and particular is presumed and inforced, that (quoth hee) is somewhat hard (I weene) for you or mee (in respect of some other difference betweene us) to judge or discerne with indifferency.

Gentleman. Nay truly said the Gentleman, for my part I thinke not so, for that reason is reason in what religion soever. And for my selfe, I may protest, that I beare the honest Papist (if there bee any) no malice for his deceived conscience, whereof among others, your selfe can bee a witnesse : mary his Practizes against the state, I cannot in any wise digest : and much lesse may the Common-wealth beare the same (whereof wee all depend,) being a sinne of all other, the most heinous, the least pardonable. And therefore seeing in this, you grant the Papist both in generall abroad, and at home ; and in particular such as are condemned, executed and named in this booke to bee guilty : how can you insinuate (as you doe) that there is more presumed or enforced upon them by this booke, then there is just cause so to doe.

Lawyer. Good Sir, said the other, I stand not here to examine the doings of my superiours, or to defend the guilty, but wish hartily rather their punishment that have deserved the same. Onely this I say, for explication of my former speech : that men of a different religion from the state wherein they live, may bee said to deale against the same state in two sorts : the one, by dealing for the increase of their said different religion, which is alwayes either directly, or indirectly against the state. (Directly) when the said religion containeth any point or article directly impugning the said state, (as perhaps you will say that the *Roman* Religion doth against the present state of *England* in the point of Supremacy :) and (Indirectly) for that every different religion divideth in a sort and draweth from the state, in that there is no man who in his heart would not wish to have the chiefe Governour and state to bee of his religion, if hee could : and consequently misliketh the other in respect of that : and in this kind, not onely those whom you call busie Papists in *England*, but also those whom we call hote Puritans among you, (whose difference from the state especially in matters of government is very well knowne,) may bee called all traytors, in mine opinion : for that every

one of these in deed, doe labour indirectly, (if not more) against the state, in how much soever each one endeavoureth to increase his part or faction that desireth a Governour of his owne religion.

And in this case also, are the Protestants in *France* and *Flanders* under Catholique Princes : the Calvinists (as they are called ;) under the Duke of *Saxony*, who is a Lutheran : the Lutherans under *Casimere*, that favoereth Calvinists : the Grecians and other Christians under the Emperour of *Constantinople*, under the *Sophy*, under the great Chame of *Tartary*, and under other Princes that agree not with them in religion. All which Subjects doe wish (no doubt) in their hearts, that they had a Prince and state of their owne religion, in stead of that which now governeth them : and consequently in this first sense, they may bee called all traytors, and every act they doe for advancement of their said different religion (dividing betweene the state and them) tendeth to treason : which their Princes supposing, doe sometimes make divers of their acts treasonable or punishable for treason. But yet so long as they breake not forth unto the second kind of treason which containeth some actuall attempt or treaty against the life of the Prince, or state, by rebellion or otherwise : wee doe not properly condemne them for traytors, though they doe some acts of their religion made treason by the Prince his lawes, who is of a different faith.

The state of all Subjects, in a state of different religion.

The second kind of treason.

And so to apply this to my purpose : I thinke, Sir, in good sooth, that in the first kind of treason, as well the zealous Papist, as also the Puritans in *England*, may well bee called and proved traytors : but in the second sort (whereof wee speake properly at this time) it cannot bee so precisely answered, for that there may bee both guilty and guiltles in each religion. And as I cannot excuse all Puritans in this point : so you cannot condemne all Papists, as long as you take mee and some other to bee as wee are.

The application of the former example.

I grant your distinction of treasons to bee true, (said the Gentleman,) as also your application thereof to the Papists and Puritans (as you call them,) not to want reason, if there bee any of them that mislike the present state (as perhaps there bee :) all bee it for my part, I thinke these two kinds of treasons, which you have put downe, bee rather divers degrees then divers kinds : wherein I will refer mee to the judgement of our *Cambridge* friend here present, whose skill is more in logicall distinctions. But yet my reason is this, that indeed the one is but a step or degree to the other, not differing in nature, but rather in time, ability or opportunity. For if (as in your former examples you have shewed) the Grecians under the Turke, and other Christians under other Princes of a different religion, and as also the Papists and Puritans (as you terme them) in *England* (for now this word shall passe betweene us for distinction sake,) have such alienation of mind from their present regiment, and doe covet so much a governour and state of their owne religion : then no doubt but they are also resolved to imploy their forces for accomplishing and bringing to passe their desires, if they had opportunity : and so being now in the first degree or kind of treason, doe want but occasion or ability, to breake into the second.

Gentleman.

Two degrees of treason.

True Sir, said the Lawyer, if there bee no other cause or circumstance that may with hold them.

Lawyer.

And what cause or circumstance may stay them I pray you (said the Gentleman) when they shall have ability and opportunity to doe a thing which they so much desire ?

Gentleman.

*Lawyer.*

Divers causes (quoth the Lawyer) but especially and above all other (if it bee at home in their owne Country,) the feare of servitude under forraine nations, may restraîne them from such attempts : As wee see in *Germany* that both Catholiques and Protestants would joyne together, against any stranger that should offer danger to their liberty. And so they did against *Charles* the fifth. And in *France* not long agoe, albeit the Protestants were up in armes against their King, and could have beene content, by the helpe of us in *England*, to have put him downe, and placed an other of their owne religion : yet when they saw us once seized of New-haven, and so, like to proceed to the recovery of some part of our states on that side the Sea, they quickly joyned with their owne Catholiques againe to expell us.

*France.**Flanders.*

In *Flanders* likewise, though Monsieur were called thither by the Protestans, especially for defence of their religion, against the *Spaniard* : yet wee see how dainty divers chiefe Protestants of *Antwerp*, *Gaunt*, and *Bruges* were, in admitting him, and how quick in expelling, so soone as hee put them in the least feare of subjection to the *French*.

*Portugall.*

And as for *Portugall*, I have heard some of the chieftest Catholiques among them say, in this late contention about their Kingdome : that rather then they would suffer the *Castilian* to come in upon them, they would bee content to admit whatsoever aids of a contrary religion to themselves, and to adventure whatsoever alteration in religion or other inconvenience might befall them by that meanes, rather then endanger their subjection to their ambitious neighbour.

The old hatred of East Grecians towards the West Latins.

The like is reported in divers histories of the Grecians at this day, who doe hate so much the name and dominion of the Latines : as they had rather to endure all the miseries which dayly they suffer under the Turke for their religion and otherwise : then by calling for aid from the West to hazard their subjection to the said Latines. So that by these examples you see, that feare and horreur of externall subjection may stay men in all states, and consequently also both Papists and Puritans in the state of *England*, from passing to the second kind or degeee of treason, albeit they were never so deepe in the first, and had both ability, time, will, and oportunity for the other.

*Scholar.*

Here I presumed to interrupt their Speech, and said : that this seemed to mee most cleare, and that now I understood what the Lawyer meant before, when hee affirmed, that albeit the most part of Papists in generall might bee said to deal against the state of *England* at this day, in that they deale so earnestly for the maintenance and increase of their religion, and so to incurre some kind of treason : yet (perhaps) not so far-forth nor in so deepe a degree, of proper treason as in this booke is presumed or inforced : though for my part (said I) I doe not see that the booke presumeth or inforceth all Papists in generall to bee properly traytors, but onely such as in particular are therein named, or that are by law attainted, condemned or executed : and what will you say (quoth I) to those in particular.

Not all Papists properly traytors.

*Lawyer.*

Surely (quoth hee) I must say of these, much after the manner which I spake before : that some here named in this booke are openly knowen to have beene in the second deegree or kind of treason : as *Westmerland*, *Norton*, *Sanders*, and the like. But divers others (namely the Priests and Seminaries that of late have suffered,) by so much as I could see delivered and pleaded at their arraingements, or heard protested by them at their deaths, or gathered by reason and discourse of my selfe, (for that no

The Priests and Seminaries that were executed.



forraine Prince or wise councellor would ever commit so great matters of state to such instruments :) I cannot (I say) but thinke, that to the wise of our state, that had the doing of this busines, the first degree of treason (wherein no doubt they were) was sufficient to dispatch and make them away : especially in such suspitious times as these are : to the end that being hanged for the first, they should never bee in danger to fall into the second, nor yet to draw other men to the same : which perhaps was most of all misdoubted.

After the Lawyer had spoken this, I held my peace, to heare what the Gentleman would answer : who walked up and downe, two whole turnes in the Gallery, without yeelding any word againe : and then staying upon the sudden, cast his eyes sadly upon us both, and said ;

*Gentleman.*

My Masters, how so ever this bee, which indeed appertaineth not to us to judge or discusse, but rather to perswade our selves, that the state hath reason to doe as it doth, and that it must often times, as well prevent inconveniences, as remedy the same when they are happened : yet for my owne part I must confesse unto you, that upon some considerations which use to come unto my mind, I take no small grieve of these differences among us (which you terme of divers and different religions) for which wee are driven of necessity, to use Discipline towards divers, who possibly otherwise would bee no great malefactours. I know the cause of this difference is grounded upon a principle not easie to cure, which is the judgement and conscience of a man, whereunto obeieth at length his will and affection, whatsoever for a time hee may otherwise dissemble outwardly. I remember your speech before of the doubtfull and dangerous inclination of such as live discontented in a state of a different religion, especially, when either indeed, or in their owne conceipte, they are hardly dealt withall, and where every mans particular punishment, is taken to reach to the cause of the whole.

*The considerations.*

I am not ignorant how that misery procureth amity, and the opinion of calamity, moveth affection of mercy and compassion, even towards the wicked : the better fortune alwayes is subject to envy, and hee that suffereth, is thought to have the better cause, my experience of the divers raignes and proceedings of King *Edward*, Queene *Mary*, and of this our most gracious soveraigne hath taught mee not a little, touching the sequell of these affaires. And finally, (my good friends) I must tell you plaine (quoth hee : and this hee spake with great asseveration) that I could wish with all my heart, that either these differences were not among us at all, or els that they were so temperatly on all parts pursued : as the Common-state of our Countrey, the blessed raigne of her Majesty, and the common cause of true religion, were not endangered thereby. But now : and there hee brake of, and turned aside.

*Misery moveth mercy.*

*A good wish.*

The Lawyer seeing him hold his peace and depart, hee stepped after him, and taking him by the gowne said merrily : Sir, all men are not of your complexion, some are of quicker and more stirring Spirits, and doe love to fish in water that is troubled, for that they doe participate the Black-moores humour, that dwell in *Guinea* (whereof I suppose you have heard and seene also some in this Land) whose exercise at home is (as some write) the one to hunt, catch, and sell the other, and alwayes the stronger to make money of the weaker for the time. But now if in *England* we should live in peace and unity of the state, as they doe in *Germany*, notwithstanding their differences

*Lawyer.*

*The nature and practize of the Guineans.*

of Religion, and that the one should not pray upon the other: then should the great Fawcons for the Field (I meane the favorites of the time) faile whereon to feed, which were an inconvenience as you know.

*Gentleman.*

Truly Sir, said the Gentleman, I thinke you rove nearer the marke than you weene: for if I bee not deceived the very ground of much of these broiles whereof wee talke, is but a very pray: not, in the minds of the Prince or state (whose intentions no doubt bee most just and holy) but in the greedy imagination and subtile conceipt of him, who at this present in respect of our sinnes, is permitted by God, to tyrannize both Prince and state: and being himselfe of no religion, feedeth notwithstanding upon our differences in religion, to the fattening of himselfe and ruine of the Realme. For whereas by the common distinction now received in speech, there are three notable differences of religion in the Land, the two extreames, whereof are the Papist and the Puritan, and the religious Protestant obtaining the meane: this fellow being of neither, maketh his gaine of all: and as hee seeketh a Kingdome by the one extreame, and spoile by the other: so hee useth the authority of the third, to compasse the first two, and the counter-mine of each one, to the overthrow of all three.

*The Tyrant  
of English  
state.*

*Three differ-  
ences of re-  
ligion in  
England.*

*Scholar.*

To this I answered: In good sooth Sir, I see now where you are: you are fallen into the common place of all our ordinary talke and conference in the university: for I know that you meane my L. of *Leicester*, who is the subject of all pleasant discourses at this day throughout the Realme.

*The Earl of  
Leicester.*

*Gentleman.*

Not so pleasant as pittifull, answered the Gentleman, if all matters and circumstances were well considered, except any man take pleasure to jeast at our owne miseries, which are like to bee greater by his iniquity (if God avert it not) then by all the wickednesse of *England* besides: hee being the man that by all probability, is like to bee the bane and fatall destiny of our state, with the eversion of true religion, whereof by indirec[t] meanes, hee is the greatest enemy that the Land doth nourish.

*Lawyer.*

Now verily (quoth the Lawyer) if you say thus much for the Protestants opinion of him, what shall I say for his merits towards the Papists? who for as much as I can perceive, doe take themselves little beholding unto him, albeit for his gaine hee was some yeares their secret friend against you: untill by his friends hee was perswaded, and chiefly by the L. *North* by way of policy, as the said L. bosteth in hope, of greater gaine, to step over to the Puritans, against us both, whom notwithstanding it is probable, that hee loveth as much, as hee doth the rest.

*The L.  
Norths policy.*

*Gentleman.*

You know the Beares love, said the Gentleman, which is all for his owne paunch, and so this Beare-whelp, turneth all to his owne commodity, and for greedines thereof, will overturne all if he bee not stopped or mouzeled in time.

*A strange  
speculation.*

And surely unto mee it is a strange speculation, whereof I cannot pick out the reason (but onely that I doe attribute it to Gods punishment for our sinnes) than in so wise and vigilant a state as ours is, and in a Countrey so well acquainted and beaten with such dangers: a man of such a Spirit as hee is knowne to bee, of so extreame ambition, pride, falshood and trechery: so borne, so bred up, so nooseled in treason from his infancy, descended of a tribe of traytors, and fleshed in conspiracy against the Royall bloud of King *Henries* children in his tender yeares, and exercised ever since in driftes against the same, by the bloud and ruine of divers others: a man so well knownen to beare secret malice against her Majesty, for causes irreconcilable, and

most deadly rancour against the best and wisest Councillours of her highnesse : that such a one (I say so hatefull) to God and man, and so markeable to the simplest subject of this Land by the publique insignes of his tyrannous purpose, should bee suffered so many yeares without check, to aspire to tyranny by most manifest wayes, and to possesse himselfe (as now hee hath done) of Court, Councill, and Countrey, without controlement : so that nothing wanteth to him but onely his pleasure, and the day already conceived in his mind to dispose as hee list, both of Prince, Crowne, Realme, and Religion.

It is much truly (quoth I) that you say, and it ministreth not a little marvaile unto many, whereof your worship is not the first, nor yet the tenth person of accompt which I have heard discourse and complaine. But what shall wee say hereunto ? there is no man that ascribeth not this unto the singular benignity and most bountifull good nature of her Majesty who measuring other men by her owne Heroycll and Princely sincerity : cannot easily suspect a man so much bounden to her grace, as hee is, nor remove her confidence from the place, where shee hath heaped so infinite benefites.

*Scholar.*

The Queens  
Majesties  
most excel-  
lent good  
nature.

No doubt (said the Gentleman) but this gracious and sweet disposition of her Majesty is the true originall cause thereof : which Princely disposition, as in her highnesse it deserveth all rare commendation, so lieth the same open to many dangers often times, when so benigne a nature meeteth with ingrate and ambitious persons : which observation perhaps, caused her Majesties most noble Grandfather and Father (two renowned wise Princes) to withdraw some time upon the sudden, their great favour from certaine Subjects of high estate. And her Majesty may easily use her owne excellent wisdom and memory, to recall to mind the manifold examples of perilous happes fallen to divers Princes, by to much confidence in obliged proditors : with whom the name of a Kingdome, and one houres raigne, weyeth more, then all the duty, obligation, honesty, or nature in the World. Would God her Majesty could see the continuall feares that bee in her faithfull Subjects hearts, whiles that man is about her noble person, so well able and likely (if the Lord avert it not) to bee the calamity, of her Princely blood and name.

*Gentleman.*

Feares that  
subjects have  
of my L. of  
*Leycester.*

The talke will never out of many mouths and minds, that divers ancient men of this Realme, and once a wise Gentleman now a Councillour, had with a certaine friend of his, concerning the presage and deepe impression, which her Majesties Father had of the House of Sir *Iohn Dudley*, to bee the ruine in time of his Majesties Royall house and blood, which thing was like to have beene fulfilled soone after (as all the World knoweth) upon the death of King *Edward* by the said *Dudley* this mans Father : who at one blow, procured to dispatch from a possession of the Crown, all three children of the said noble King. And yet in the midst of those bloody practizes against her Majesty that now is and her sister (wherein also this fellowes hand was so farre, as for his age hee could thrust the same,) within sixteene dayes before King *Edwards* death (hee knowing belike that the King should die) wrote most flattering letters to the Lady *Mary* (as I have heard by them who then were with her) promissing all loyalty and true service to her, after the descease of her brother, with no lesse painted words, then this man now doth use to Queene *Elizabeth*.

Sir Francis  
*Walsingham.*

Deepe dissi-  
mulation.

So dealt hee then with the most deare children of his good King and Master, by whom hee had beene no lesse exalted and trusted, then this man is by her Majesty.

*Leycester's Commonwealth.*

And so deeply dissembled hee then when hee had in hand the plot to destroy them both. And what then (alas) may not wee feare and doubt of this his sonne, who in outrageous ambition and desire of raigne, is not inferiour to his Father, or to any other aspiring Spirit in the World, but farre more insolent, cruell, vindicative, expert, potent, subtile, fine, and fox-like then ever hee was? I like well the good motion propounded by the foresaid Gentleman, to his friend at the same time, and doe assure my selfe it would bee most pleasant to the Realme, and profitable to her Majesty to wit, that this mans actions might bee called publiquely to triall, and liberty given to good subjects, to say what they knew against the same, as it was permitted in the first yeare of King *Henry* the eight against his Grandfather, and in the first of Queene *Mary* against his Father: and then I would not doubt, but if these two his Ancestors were found worthy to leese their heads for treason: this man would not bee found unworthy to make the third in kindred, whose treacheries doe farre surpasse them both.

Sir Francis  
Walsingham.

Edmund  
Dudley.  
Robert Dudley.

Lawyer.

After the Gentleman had said this, the Lawyer stood still, somewhat smiling to himselfe, and looking round about him, as though hee had beene halfe afeard, and then said. My masters, doe you read over or study the statutes that come forth? have you not heard of the *proviso* made in the last Parliament for punishment of those who speake so broad of such men as my L. of *Leycester* is?

Gentleman.

The Law a-  
gainst talking

Yes, said the Gentleman, I have heard how that my L. of *Leycester* was very carefull and diligent at that time to have such a Law to passe against talkers: hoping (belike) that his L. under that generall restraint might lie the more quietly in harbour from the tempest of mens tongues, which tatled busily at that time, of divers his Lordship's actions and affaires, which perhaps himselfe would have wished to passe with more secresie. As of his discontentment and preparation to rebellion, upon Monsieurs first comming into the Land: of his disgrace and checks received in Court: of the fresh death of the noble Earle of *Essex*: and of this mans hasty snatching up of the widdow, whom hee sent up and downe the Countrey from house to house by privy wayes, thereby to avoid the sight and knowledge of the Queenes Majesty. And albeit hee had not onely used her at his good liking before, for satisfying of his owne lust, but also married and remarried her for contentation of her friends: yet denied hee the same, by solemne oath to her Maiesty and received the holy Communion thereupon (so good a conscience hee hath) and consequently threatned most sharp revenge towards all subjects which should dare to speake thereof: and so for the concealing both of this and other his doings, which hee desired not to have publike, no marvaile though his Lordship were so diligent a procurer of that law for silence.

Actions of  
*Leycester*  
whereof hee  
would have  
no speech.

Scholar.

Indeed (said I) it is very probable that his Lordship was in great distresse about that time, when Monsieurs matters were in hand, and that hee did many things and purposed more, whereof hee desired lesse speech among the people, especially afterwards, when his said designements tooke not place. I was my selfe that yeare not farre from *Warwicke* when hee came thither from the Court a full *Mal-Content*, and when it was thought most certainly throughout the Realm, that hee would have taken armes soone after, if the marriage of her Majesty with Monsieur had gone forward. The thing in *Cambridge* and in all the Countrey as I rode, was in every man's mouth: and it was a wonder to see not onely the countenances, but also the behaviour, and to heare the bold speeches of all such as were of his faction.

My Lord himselfe had given out a little before at *Killingworth*, that the matter would cost many broken heads before *Michelmasse* day next: and my Lord of *Warwick* had said openly at his table in *Greenewich*, Sir *Thomas Hennige* being by (if I bee not deceived,) that it was not to bee suffered (I meane the marriage) which words of his once comming abroad (albeit misliked by his owne Lady then also present) every Serving-man and Common-companion, tooke then up in defence of his Lordships part against the Queenes Majesty. Such running there was, such sending and posting about the Realme, such amplification of the powers and forces of *Casimere* and other Princes, ready, (as was affirmed) to present themselves unto his aid, for defence of the Realme and Religion against strangers: (for that was holden to bee his cause) such numbring of parties and complices within the Realme, (whereof himselfe shewed the Catalogue to some of his friends for their comfort) such debasing of them that favoured the marriage (especially two or three Councillors by name, who were said to bee the cause of all, and for that were appointed out to bee sharply punished to the terrour of all others :) such letters were written and intercepted of purpose, importing great powers to bee ready, and so many other things done and designed, tending all to manifest and open warre: as I began heartily to be afeard, and wished my selfe backe at *Cambridge* againe, hoping that being there, my Scholars gowne should excuse mee from necessity of fighting, or if not, I was resolved (by my Lords good leave) to follow *Aristotle*, who preferreth alway the Lyon before the Beare: assuring my selfe withall, that his Lordship should have no better successe in this (if it came to triall) then his Father had in as bad a cause, and so much the more for that I was privy to the minds of some of his friends, who meant to have deceived him, if the matter had broken out. And amongst other, there was a certaine Vice-president in the World, who being left in the roome and absence of an other, to procure friends: said in a place secretly not farre from *Ludlow*, that if the matter came to blowes, hee would follow his Mistresse, and leave his Master in the briars.

Marry Sir (quoth the Gentleman) and I trow many more would have followed that example. For albeit I know, that the Papists were most named and misdoubted of his part, in that cause, for their open inclination towards Monsieur, and consequently for greater discredit of the thing it selfe, it was given out every where by this Champion of religion, that her Majesties cause was the Papists cause, (even as his Father had done in the like enterprise before him, though all upon dissimulation, as appeared at his death, where hee professed himselfe an earnest Papist :) yet was there no man so simple in the Realme, which discried not this Vizard at the first: neither yet any good subject (as I suppose) who seeing her Majesty on the one part, would not have taken against the other part, what so ever hee had beene. And much more the thing it selfe in controversie (I meane the marriage of her Royall Majesty with the brother and heire apparent of *France*,) being taken and judged by the best, wisest and faithfulest Protestants of the Realme, to bee both honourable, convenient, profitable and needfull. Whereby onely, as by a most soveraigne, and present remedy, all our maladies both abroad and at home, had at once beene cured: all forraine enemies, and domesticall conspirators, all differences, all dangers, all feares had ceased together: *France* had beene ours most assured: *Spain* would not a little have trembled: *Scotland* had beene quiet: our competitors in *England* would have

*Leicester's pre-  
paratives to  
rebellion  
upon Mon-  
sieurs mar-  
riage.*

*To Sir Tho.  
Layton.*

*L. Treasurer.  
L. Chamber-  
laine.  
M. Comp-  
troller.*

*Sir Thomas  
Hibbot.*

*Gentleman.*

*Leycesters Fa-  
ther a tray-  
terous Pa-  
pist.*

*The honour  
and commo-  
dities by the  
marriage  
with France.*

*Leycester's Commonwealth.*

*Ethelbert King  
of Kent, con-  
verted An.  
dom. 603.*

quaked: and for the Pope hee might have put up his pipes. Our differences in religion at home, had beene either lesse, or no greater then now they are, for that Monsieur being but a moderate Papist, and nothing vehement in his opinions, was content with very reasonable conditions, for himselfe and his strangers onely in use of their conscience not unlikely (truly) but that in time hee might by Gods grace, and by the great wisdom and virtue of her Majesty have beene brought also to embrace the Gospell, as King *Ethelbert* an heathen was by noble Queene *Bertha* his wife, the first Christian of our *English* Princes.

Vnto all which felicity, if the Lord in mercy should have added also some issue of there royall bodies, (as was not impossible, when first this noble match was moved,) wee then (doubtles) had beene the most fortunate people under heaven, and might have beene (perhaps) the meane to have restored the Gospell throughout all *Europe* besides, as our Brethren of *France* well considered and hoped.

Of all which singular benefits both present and to come, both, in *Re* and *Spe*, this Tyrant for his owne private lucre (fearing lest hereby his ambition might be restrained, and his treachery revealed) hath bereaved the Realme, and done what in him lieth besides, to alienate for ever and make our mortall enemy this great Prince, who sought the love of her Majesty with so much honour and confidence as never Prince the like, putting twice his owne person to jeopardy of the Sea, and to the perill of his malicious enuiours here in *England*, for her Majesties sake.

*Lawyer.*

When you speake of Monsieur (said the Lawyer) I cannot but greatly bee moved, both for these considerations well touched by you, as also for some other: especially one wherein (perhaps) you will thinke mee partiall, but truly I am not: for that I speake it onely in respect of the quiet and good of my Countrey, and that is, that by Monsieurs match with our noble Princesse, besides the hope of issue (which was the principall) there wanted not also probability, that some union or little tolleration in religion, betweene you and us, might have beene procured in this state, as wee see that in some other Countries is admitted to their great good. Which thing (no doubt) would have cut of quite all dangers and dealings from forraine Princes, and would have stopped many devises and plots within the Realme: whereas now by this breach with *France*, wee stand alone as mee seemeth without any great unition or friendship abroad, and our differences at home grow more vehement and sharp then ever before. Vpon which two heads, as also upon infinit other causes, purposes, drifts and pretences, there doe ensue dayly more deepe, dangerous and desperate practizes, every man using either the commodity or necessity of the time and state for his owne purpose, especially, now when all men presume that her Majesty (by the continuall thwartings which have been used against all her marriage) is not like to leave unto the Realme, that pretious Jewell so much and long desired of all English hearts, I meane the Royall heires of her owne body.

*Tolleration in  
Religion, with  
union in de-  
fence of our  
Country.*

*Gentleman.*

Thwartings call you the defeating of all her Majesties most honourable offers of marriage? (said the other) truly in my opinion you should have used an other word to expresse the nature of so wicked a fact: whereby alone, if their were no other, this unfortunate man, hath done more hurt to his Commonwealth, then if hee had murdered many thousands of her subjects, or betrayed whole armies to the professed enemy. I can remember well my selfe, foure treatises to this purposes, undermined

by his meanes ; The first with the *Swethen* King : the second with the Archduke of *Austria* : the third with *Henry* King of *France* that now reigneth : and the fourth with the brother and heire of the said Kingdome. For I let passe many other secret motions made by great Potentates to her Majesty for the same purpose, but these foure are openly knowen, and therefore I name them. Which foure are as well knowen to have beene all disturbed by this *Dawes*, as they were earnestly pursued by the other.

Divers marriages of her Ma. defeated.

And for the first three Suters, hee drove them away, by protesting and swearing that himselfe was contracted unto her Majesty, whereof her highnesse was sufficiently advertised by Cardinall *Chatilian* in the first treaty for *France*, and the Cardinall soone after punished (as is thought) by this man with poison. But yet this speech hee gave out then, every where among his friends both strangers and other, that hee (forsooth) was assured to her Majesty and consequently that all other Princes must give over their sutes, for him. Whereunto notwithstanding, when the *Swethen* would hardly give eare, this man conferred with his Privado to make a most unseemely and disloyall prooffe thereof for the others satisfaction, which thing I am enforced by duty to passe over with silence, for honour to the parties who are touched therein : as also I am to conceale his said filthy Privado, though worthy otherwise for his dishonestly to bee displayed to the World : but my Lord himselfe, I am sure, doth well remember both the man and the matter. And albeit there was no wise man at that time who knowing my L. suspected not the false-hood, and his arrogant affirmation touching this contract with her Majesty, yet some both abroad and at home might doubt thereof perhaps : but now of late, by his known marriage with his Minion Dame *Lettice* of *Essex*, hee hath declared manifestly his owne most impudent and disloyall dealing with his soveraigne in this report.

*Leycester* devises to drive away all Suters from her Majesty.

*Leycester* convinced himselfe of impudency.

For that report (quoth the Lawyer) I know that it was common and maintained by many, for divers yeares: yet did the wiser sort make no accompt thereof, seeing it came only from himselfe, and in his owne behalfe. Neither was it credible, that her Majesty who refused so noble Knights and Princes as *Europe* hath not the like : would make choise of so meane a peere as *Robin Dudley* is, noble onely in two descents, and both of them stained with the Block, from which also himselfe, was pardoned but the other day, being condemned thereunto by law for his deserts, as appeareth yet in publike records. And for the widdow of *Essex*, I marvaile Sir (quoth hee) how you call her his wife, seeing the canon law standeth yet in force touching matters of marriage within the Realme.

Lawyer

The basenes of *Leycesters* ancestors.

Anno 1. R. Mary.

Oh (said the Gentleman laughing) you meane for that hee procured the poisoning of her Husband, in his journey from *Ireland*. You must thinke that Doctör *Dale* will dispence in that matter, as hee did (at his Lordships appointment) with his *Italian* physitian Doctör *Iulio*, to have two wives at once: at the least wise the matter was permitted, and borne out by them both publicly (as all the World knoweth) and that against no lesse persons then the Archbishop of *Canterbury* himselfe, whose overthrow was principally wrought by this Tyrant for contrarying his will, in so beastly a demand. But for this controuersie whether the marriage bee good or no, I leave it to bee tried hereafter betweene my yong L. of *Denbighe*, and M. *Philip Sidney*, whom the same most concerneth. For that it is like to deprive him of a goodly inheritance if it take place, (as some will say that in no reason it can,) not onely in respect of the precedent

Gentleman.

Doctör Dale.

Doctör Iulio.

The Archbishops overthrow for not allowing two wives to *Leycester* his Physitian.



*Leycester's Commonwealth.*

The Lady  
Sheffield now  
Embassa-  
desse in  
France.

adultery and murder betweene the parties: but also for that my L. was contracted, at least, to an other Lady before, that yet liveth, whereof M. *Edward Diar* and M. *Edmond Tilney* both Courtiers can bee witnesses, and consumated the same contract by generation of children. But this (as I said) must bee left to bee tried hereafter by them which shall have most interest in the case. Onely for the present I must advertise you, that you may not take hold so exactly of all my L. doings in Womens affaires, neither touching their marriages, neither yet their husbands.

The death of  
Leycesters first  
Lady & wife.

Sir Richard  
Varney.

For first his Lordship hath a speciall fortune, that when hee desireth any womans favour, then what person so ever standeth in his way, hath the luck to die quickly for the finishing of his desire. As for example: when his Lordship was in full hope to marry her Majesty, and his owne wife stood in his light, as hee supposed: hee did but send her aside, to the house of his servant *Forster* of *Cumner* by *Oxford*, where shortly after shee had the chance to fall from a paire of staires, and so to breake her neck, but yet without hurting of her hood that stood upon her head. But Sir *Richard Varney* who by commandement remained with her that day alone, with one man onely, and had sent away perforce all her Servants from her, to a market two miles of, hee (I say) with his man can tell how shee died, which man being taken afterward for a felony in the marches of *Wales*, and offering to publish the manner of the said murder, was made away privily in the prison. And Sir *Richard* himselfe dying about the same time in *London*, cried pitiously, and blasphemed God, and said to a Gentleman of worship of mine acquaintance, not long before his death: that all the Divels in Hell did teare him in peeces. The wife also of *Bald Buttler* Kinsman to my L. gave out the whole fact a little before her death. But to returne unto my purpose, this was my Lords good fortune to have his wife die, at that time when it was like to turne most to his profit.

Bald Buttler.

The suspi-  
cious death  
of the Lord  
Sheffield.

Long after this, hee fell in love with the Lady *Sheffield* whom I signified before, and then also had hee the same fortune to have her Husband die quickly with an extreame reume in his head (as it was given out;) but as other say, of an artificiall Catarre that stopped his breath. The like good chance had hee in the death of my Lord of *Essex* (as I have said before) and that at a time most fortunate for his purpose: for when hee was comming home from *Ireland*, with intent to revenge himselfe upon my Lord of *Leycester*, for begetting his wife with child in his absence (the child was a daughter and brought up by the Lady *Shandoies*, W. *Knoodles* his wife:) my Lord of *Ley* hearing thereof, wanted not a friend or two to accompany the Deputie, as among other, a couple of the Earles owne servants, *Crompton* (if I misse not his name) yeoman of his bottels, and *Lloid* his Secretary entertained afterward by my Lord of *Leycester*. And so hee died in the way of an extreame Flux, caused by an Italian *Recipe*, as all his friends are well assured: the maker whereof was a Surgion (as is believed) that then was newly come to my Lord from *Italy*. A cunning man and sure in operation, with whom if the good Lady had beene sooner acquainted and used his helpe, shee should not have needed to have sitten so pensive at home and fearefull of her husbands former returne out of the same Countrey, but might have spared the yong child in her belly, which shee was enforced to make away (cruelly and unnaturally) for clearing the house against the good mans arrivall.

The poison-  
ing of the  
Earle of  
Essex

The shifting  
of a child in  
Dame *Lettice*  
belly.

The divers  
operation of  
poyson.

Neither must you marvaile though all these died in divers manners of outward diseases, for this is the excellency of the *Italian* art, for which this Surgion and D. *Iulio*



were entertained so carefully, who can make a man die, in what manner or shew of sicknesse you will; by whose instructions no doubt but his Lordship is now cunning, especially adding also to these the counsell of his Doctōr *Bayly*, a man also not a little studied (as hee seemeth) in his art. For I heard him once my selfe in publique act in *Oxford* (and that in presence of my Lord of *Leycester* if I bee not deceived) maintaine, that poison might so bee tempered and given as it should not appeare presently, and yet should kill the party afterward at what time should bee appointed. Which argument belike pleased well his Lordship and therefore was chosen to bee discussed in his audience, if I bee not deceived of his being that day present. So though one die of a Flux, and an other of a Catarre, yet this importeth little to the matter, but sheweth rather the great cunning and skill of the Artificer.

Doctōr *Bayly*  
the yonger.

So Cardinall *Chatilian* (as I have said before,) having accused my Lord of *Leycester* to the Queenes Majesty, and after that, passing from *London* towards *France* about the marriage, died by the way at *Canterbury* of a burning Fever: and so proved Doctōr *Baylies* assertion true, that poison may bee given to kill at a day.

Death of  
Cardinall  
*Chatilian*.

At this the Lawyer cast up his eyes to Heaven, and I stood somewhat musing and thinking of that which had beene spoken of the Earle of *Essex*, whose case indeed moved mee more then all the rest, for that hee was a very noble Gentleman, a great Advancer of true Religion, a Patron to many Preachers and Students, and towards mee and some of my friends in particular, hee had beene in some things very beneficiall: and therefore I said that it grieved mee extreemely to heare or thinke of so unworthy a death contrived by such meanes to so worthy a Peere. And so much the more, for that it was my chance, to come to the understanding of divers particulars concerning that thing, both from one *Lea* an Irish-man, *Robin Honnies* and other, that were present at *Penteneis* the Marchants house in *Develing* upon the kay, where the Murder was committed. The matter was wrought especially by *Crompton* yeoman of the bottels, by the procurement of *Lloyd* as you have noted before, and there was poisoned at the same time and with the same cup (as given of curtesie by the Earle) one Mistresse *Ales Draykot* a goodly Gentlewoman, whom the Earle affectioned much, who departing thence towards her owne house, (which was 18 miles of, the foresaid *Lea* accompanying her, and wayting upon her,) shee began to fall sick very grievously upon the way, and continued with increase of paines and excessive torments, by vomiting, untill shee died, which was the Sunday before the Earles death, ensuing the Friday after, and when shee was dead, her body was swolne unto a monstrous bignes and deformity, whereof the good Earle hearing the day following, lamented the case greatly, and said in the presence of his Servants, Ah poore *Ales*, the cup was not prepared for thee, albeit it were thy hard destiny to tast thereof.

Scholar.

*Lea*.  
*Honnies*.

Mistresse  
*Draykot* poi-  
soned with  
the Earle of  
*Essex*.

Yong *Honnies* also whose Father is Master of the children of her Majesties Chappell, being at that time Page to the said Earle, and accustomed to take the tast of his drinke (though since entertained also among other by my Lord of *Leycester* for better covering of matter) by his tast that hee then tooke of the compound cup, (though in very small quantity, as you know the fashion is:) yet was hee like to have lost his life, but escaped in the end, (being yong) with the losse onely of his haire: which the Earle perceiving, and taking compassion of the youth: called for a cup of drinke a little before his death, and drunk to *Honnies*, saying: I drinke to thee my

*Leycester's Commonwealth.*

The Earle of  
Essex speech  
to his Page  
Robin Honnies.

*Robin*, and be not afeard, for this is a better cup of drinke then that, whereof thou tookest the tast when wee were both poisoned, and whereby thou hast lost thy haire and I must loose my life. This hath yong *Honnies* reported openly in divers places, and before divers Gentlemen of worship sithence his comming into *England*, and the foresaid *Lea* Irishman at his passage this way towards *France*, after hee had beene present at the forenamed Mistresse *Draykots* death, with some other of the Earles Servants, have and doe most constantly report the same, where they may doe it without the terrour of my Lord of *Leycesters* revenge. Wherefore in this matter there is no doubt at all, though most extreame vile and intollerable indignity, that such a man should bee so openly murdered without punishment. What Noble-man within the Realme may bee safe if this bee suffered? or what worthy personage will adventure his life in her Majesties service if this shall bee his reward? But (Sir) I pray you pardon mee, for I am somewhat perhaps to vehement in the case of this my Patron and noble Peere of our Realme. And therefore I beseech you to goe forward in your talke whereas you left.

Gentleman.

Death of Sir  
Nicholas  
Throgmarton.

Sir Will. Cy-  
cill now L.  
Treasurer.

I was recounting unto you others (said the Gentleman) made away by my Lord of *Leycester* with like art, and the next in order I thinke was Sir *Nicholas Throgmarton*, who was a man whom my Lord of *Leycester* used a great while (as all the World knoweth) to over-thwart and crosse the doings of my Lord Treasurer then Sir *Will. Cicill*, a man specially misliked alwayes of *Leycester*, both in respect of his old Master the Duke of *Somerset*, as also for that his great wisdom, zeale and singular fidelity to the Realme, was like to hinder much this mans designements: wherefore understanding after a certaine time that these two Knights were secretly made friends, and that Sir *Nicholas* was like to detect his doings (as hee imagined,) which might turne to some prejudice of his purposes: (having conceived also a secret grudge and grieve against him, for that hee had written to her Majesty at his being Embassadour in *France*, that hee heard reported at Duke *Memorances* table, that the Queene of *England* had a meaning to marry her Horse-keeper) hee invited the said Sir *Nicholas* to a Supper at his house in *London* and at Supper time departed to the Court, being called for (as hee said) upon the sudden by her Majesty, and so perforce would needs have Sir *Nicholas* to sit and occupie his Lordships place, and therein to bee served as hee was: and soone after by a surfeit their taken, hee died of a strange and incurable vomit. But the day before his death, hee declared to a deare friend of his, all the circumstance and cause of his disease, which hee affirmed plainely to bee of poison, given him in a Salat at Supper, inveying most earnestly against the Earles cruelty and bloody disposition, affirming him to be the wickedest, most perilous, and perfidious man under heaven. But what availed this, when hee had now received the bait.

The poison-  
ing of Sir  
Nicholas in a  
Salat.

The Lord  
Chamber-  
laine.  
Monsieur  
Simiers.

This then is to shew the mans good fortune, in seeing them dead, whom for causes hee would not have to live. And for his art of poisoning, it is such now and reacheth so farre, as hee holdeth all his foes in *England* and els where, as also a good many of his friends in feare thereof, and if it were knowen how many hee hath dispatched or assaulted that way, it would bee marvailous to the posterity. The late Earle of *Sussex* wanted not a scruple for many yeares before his death, of some dramme received that made him incurable. And unto that noble Gentleman Monsieur *Simiers*, it was discovered by great providence of God, that his life was to bee attempted by that art, and that not taking place (as it did not through his owne good circumspection,) it was

concluded that the same should be assaulted by violence, whereof I shall have occasion to say more hereafter.

It hath been told me also by some of the Servants of the late Lady *Lenox*, who was also of the bloud Royall by *Scotland* as all men know, and consequently little liked by *Leycester*: that a little before her death or sicknesse, my Lord tooke the paines to come and visit her with extraordinary kindnesse, at her house at *Hackney*, bestowing long discourses with her in private: but as soone as hee was departed, the good Ladie fell into such a Flux, as by no meanes could bee stayed so long as she had life in her body, whereupon both shee her selfe, and all such as were neare about her, and saw her disease and ending day, were fully of opinion, that my Lord had procured her dispatch at his being there. Whereof let the Women that served her bee examined, as also *Fowler* that then had the chiefe doings in her affaires, and since hath beene entertained by my Lord of *Leycester*. *Mallet* also a stranger borne, that then was about her, a sober and zealous man in religion, and otherwise well qualified, can say somewhat in this point (as I thinke) if hee were demanded. So that this art and exercise of poisoning, is much more perfect with my Lord then praying and hee seemeth to take more pleasure therein.

The poisoning of the Lady *Lenox*.

Now for the second point, which I named, touching marriages and contracts with Women: you must not marvaile though his Lordship bee somewhat divers, variable and inconstant, with himselfe, for that according to his profit or his pleasure, and as his lust and liking shall vary (wherein by the judgement of all men, hee surpasseth, not onely *Sardanapalus* and *Nero*, but even *Heliogabalus* himselfe:) so his Lordship also changeth Wives and Minions, by killing the one, denying the other, using the third for a time, and hee fawning upon the fourth. And for this cause hee hath his tearmes and pretences (I warrant you) of Contracts, Precontracts, Postcontracts, Protracts, and Retracts: as for example: after hee had killed his first wife, and so broken that contract, then forsooth would hee needs make himselfe Husband to the Queenes Majesty, and so defeat all other Princes by vertue of his precontract. But after this, his lust compelling him to an other place, hee would needs make a postcontract with the Lady *Sheffield*, and so hee did, begetting two children upon her, the one a boy called *Robin Sheffield* now living, some time brought up at *Newington*, and the other a daughter, borne (as is knowen) at *Dudley Castle*. But yet after, his concupiscence changing againe (as it never stayeth) hee resolved to make a retract, of this postcontract, (though it were as surely done (as I have said) as Bed and Bible could make the same) and to make a certaine new, protract, (which is a continuation of using her for a time) with the Widdow of *Essex*. But yet to stop the mouths of our criars, and to bury the Synagogue with some honour, (for these two wives of *Leycester*, were merrily and wittily called his old and new Testaments, by a person of great excellency within the Realme) hee was content to assigne to the former a thousand pounds in money with other petty considerations, (the pittifullest abused that ever was poore Lady) and so betake his limmes to the latter, which latter notwithstanding, hee so useth (as wee see) now confessing, now forswearing, now dissembling the marriage: and hee will alwayes yet keepe a voyd place for a new surcontract with any other, when occasion shall require.

*Leycesters* most variable dealing with Women in contracts and marriages.

Contracts.

Precontracts.

Post-contracts.

Retract.

Protract.

*Leycesters* two Testaments.

Now by my truth Sir (quoth I) I never heard nor read the like to this in my life: yet have I read much in my time, of the carnality and licentiousnesse of divers

Scholar.

*Leycester's Commonwealth.*

*Varius Helio-  
gabalus, and  
his most in-  
famous death.*

An Epitaph.

outragious persons, in this kind of sinne, as namely these whom you have mentioned before: especially the Emperour *Heliogabalus* who passed all other, and was called *Varius*, of the variety of filth which hee used in this kind of carnality, or carnall beastlinesse. Whose death was: that being at length odious to all men, and so slaine by his owne Souldiers, was drawen through the City upon the ground like a dogge, and cast into the common privy, with this Epitaph. *Hic projectus est indomitæ & rabidæ libidinis catulus.* Here is throwen in, the Whelpe of unruly and raging lust: which Epitaph, may also one day chance to serve my Lord of *Leycester* (whom you call the Beare-whelp,) if hee goe forward as hee hath begunne, and die as hee deserveth.

A pittifull  
permission.

The extirpa-  
tion of the  
*Tarquinians.*

*An. dom. 959.*

Gentleman.

The intoller-  
able licen-  
tiousnesse of  
*Leycesters*  
carnality.

But (good Sir) what a compassion is this, that among us Christians, and namely in so well governed, and religious a Common-wealth as ours is, such a riot should bee permitted upon mens wives in a subject: whereas wee read that among the very Heathens, lesse offences then these, in the same kind, were extreemely punished in Princes themselves, and that not onely in the person delinquent alone, but also by extirpation of the whole family for his sake, as appeareth in the example of the *Tarquinians* among the *Romans*. And here also in our owne Realme, wee have registred in Chronicle, how that one King *Edwin* above six hundred yeares past was deprived of his Kingdome, for much lesse scandalous facts then these.

I remember well the story (quoth the Gentleman) and thereby doe easily make conjecture, what difference there is betwixt those times of old, and our dayes now: seeing then, a crowned Prince could not passe unpunished with one or two outrageous acts, whereas now a subject raised up but yesterday from the meaner sort, rangeth at his pleasure in all licentiousnesse, and that with security, void of feare both of God and man. No mans wife can bee free from him, whom his firie lust liketh to abuse, nor their Husbands able to resist nor save from his violence, if they shew dislike, or will not yeeld their consent to his doings. And if I should discover in particular how many good Husbands hee had plagued in this nature, and for such delights, it were intollerable: for his concupiscence and violence doe runne joyntly together, as in furious beasts wee see they are accustomed. Neither holdeth hee any rule in his lust besides onely the motion and suggestion of his owne sensuality. Kindred, affinity or any other band of consanguinity: religion, honour or honesty taketh no place in his outrageous appetite. What hee best liketh that hee taketh as lawfull for the time. So that Kins-woman, allie, friends wife, or daughter, or whatsoever female sort besides doth please his eye: (I leave out of purpose and for honour sake tearmes of kinred more neare) that must yeeld to his desire.

Money well  
spent.

*Anne Vaviser.*

The keeping of the Mother with two or three of her Daughters at once or successively, is no more with him, then the eating of an Henne and her Chicken together. There are not (by report) two Noble women about her Majesty (I speake upon some accompt of them that know much) whom hee hath not solicited by potent wayes: Neither contented with this place of honour, hee hath descended to seeke pasture among the waiting Gentlewomen of her Majesties great Chamber, offering more for their allurements, then I thinke *Lais* did commonly take in Corinth, if three hundreth pounds for a night, will make up the summe: or if not, yet will hee make it up otherwise: having reported himselfe (so little shame hee hath) that hee offered to an other of higher place, an hundreth pound lands by the yeare with as many Jewels as

most Women under her Majesty used in *England*: which was no meane bait to one that used traffique in such marchandize: shee being but the leavings of an other man before him, whereof my Lord is nothing squemish, for satisfying of his lust, but can bee content (as they say) to gather up crummes when hee is hungry, even in the very Landry it selfe, or other place of baser quality.

And albeit the Lord of his great mercy, to doe him good, no doubt, if hee were revokeable, hath laid his hand upon him, in some chasticement in this World by giving him a broken Belly on both sides of his bowels whereby misery and putrifaçtion is threatned to him dayly: and to his yong Sonne by the Widdow of *Essex*, (being *Filius peccati*) such a strange calamity of the falling sicknesse in his infancy,\* as well may bee a witnesse of the Parents sinne and wickednesse, and of both their wasted natures in iniquity: yet is this man nothing amended thereby, but according to the custome of all old adulterers, is more libidinous at this day then ever before, more given to procure love in others by Conjuring, Sorcery, and other such meanes. And albeit for himselfe, both age, and nature spent, doe somewhat tame him from the act, yet wanteth hee not will, as appeareth by the *Italian* Ointment, procured not many yeares past by his Surgion or *Mountibanck* of that Country, whereby (as they say) hee is able to move his flesh at all times, for keeping of his credit, howsoever his inability bee otherwise for performance: as also one of his Physitians reported to an Earle of this Land, that his Lordship had a bottle for his Bed-head, of tenne pounds the Pint to the same effect. But my Masters whether are wee fallen, unadvised? I am ashamed to have made mention of so base filthinesse.

The punishments of God upon *Leycester*, to do him good.

\* The children of adulterers shall be consumed, and the seed of a wicked bed shall bee rooted out, saith God.—*Sap* 3.

*Leycesters* ointment.

*Leycesters* bottell.

Scholar.

Not without good cause (quoth I) but that wee are here alone and no man heareth us. Wherefore I pray you let us returne whereas wee left: and when you named my Lord of *Leycesters* Daughter borne of the Lady *Sheffield* in *Dudley* Castle, there came into my head a pritty story concerning that affaire: which now I will recompt (though somewhat out of order) thereby to draw you from the further stirring of this unsavory pudle, and foule dunghill, whereunto wee are slipped, by following my Lord somewhat to farre in his paths and actions.

Wherefore to tell you the tale as it fell out: I grew acquainted three Moneths past with a certaine Minister, that now is dead, and was the same man that was used at *Dudley* Castle, for complement of some sacred Ceremonies at the birth of my Lord of *Leycesters* Daughter in that place: and the matter was so ordained, by the wily wit of him that had sowed the seed, that for the better covering of the harvest and secret delivery of the Lady *Sheffield*, the good wife of the Castle also (whereby *Leycesters* appointed gossips, might without other suspition have accesse to the place) should faigne herselfe to bee with child, and after long and sore travell (God wot) to bee delivered of a cushion (as shee was indeed) and a little after a faire Coffin was buried with a bundell of cloutes in shew of a child: and the Minister caused to use all accustomed prayers and ceremonies for the solemne interring thereof: for which thing, afterward, before his death hee had great grieve and remorse of conscience, with no small detestation of the most irreligious devise of my Lord of *Leycester* in such a case.

A petty devise.

An act of Atheisme.

Lawyer.

Here the Lawyer began to laugh a pace both at the devise and at the Minister, and said now truly if my Lords contracts hold no better, but hath so many infirmities, with subtilties, and by-places besides: I would bee loth that hee were married to my Daughter, as meane as shee is.

*Leycester's Commonwealth.**Gentleman.*

But yet (quoth the Gentleman) I had rather of the two bee his wife for the time then his guest: especially if the *Italian* Surgion or Physition bee at hand.

*Lawyer.*

True it is (said the Lawyer) for hee doth not poison his Wives, whereof I somewhat marvaile, especially his first wife, I muse why hee chose rather to make her away by open violence, then by some *Italian* confortive.

*Gentleman.*

The first  
reason why  
*Leycester* slew  
his wife by  
violence, ra-  
ther then by  
poison.

Hereof (said the Gentleman) may bee divers reasons alleadged. First that he was not at that time so skilfull in those *Italian* wares, nor had about him so fit Physitians and Surgions for the purpose: nor yet in trueth doe I think that his mind was so settled then in mischief, as it hath beene sithence. For you know, that men are not desperate the first day, but doe enter into wickednesse by degrees, and with some doubt or staggering of conscience at the beginning. And so hee at that time might bee desirous to have his wife made away, for that shee letted him in his designements, but yet not so stony harted as to appoint out the particular manner of her death, but rather to leave that, to the discretion of the murderer.

The second  
reason.

Doctör *Bayly*  
the elder.

Secondly, it is not also unlikely that hee prescribed unto Sir *Richard Varney* at his going thither, that hee should first attempt to kill her by poison, and if that tooke not place then by any other way to dispatch her, howsoever. This I prove by the report of old Doctör *Bayly* who then lived in *Oxford* (an other manner of man then hee who now liveth about my Lord of the same name) and was Professor of the Physick Lecture in the same Vniversity. This learned grave man reported for most certaine, that there was a practize in *Cumner* among the conspiratours, to have poisoned the poore Lady a little before shee was killed, which was attempted in this order.

A practise  
for poisoning  
the Lady  
*Dudley*.

They seeing the good Lady sad and heavy (as one that well knew by her other handling that her death was not farre of) began to perswade her, that her disease was abundance of Melancholly and other humours, and therefore would needs counsaile her to take some potion, which shee absolutely refusing, to doe, as suspecting still the worst: they sent one day, (unawares to her) for Doctör *Bayly*, and desired him to perswade her to take some little potion at his hands, and they would send to fetch the same at *Oxford* upon his prescription, meaning to have added also somewhat of their owne for her comfort as the Doctör upon just causes suspected, seeing their great importunity, and the small need which the good Lady had of Physick, and therefore hee flatly denied their request, misdoubting (as hee after reported) least if they had poisoned her under the name of his Potion: hee might after have beene hanged for a cover of their sinne. Marry the said Doctör remained well assured that this way taking no place, shee should not long escape violence as after ensued. And the thing was so beaten into the heads of the principall men of the Vniversity of *Oxford*, by these and other meanes: as for that shee was found murdered (as all men said) by the Crowners inquest, and for that shee being hastely and obscurely buried at *Cumner* (which was condemned above as not advisedly done) my good Lord, to make plaine to the World the great love hee bare to her in her life, and what a grief the losse of so vertuous a Lady was to his tender heart, would needs have her taken up again and re-buried in the Vniversity Church at *Oxford*, with great Pomp and solemnity: That Doctör *Babington* my Lords Chaplaine, making the publique funerall Sermon at her second buriall, tript once or twice in his speech, by recommending to there memories that vertuous Lady so pittifully murdered, instead of so pittifully slaine.

Doctör  
*Babington*.

A third reason of this manner of this la: death maie be the [disposition of my Lord's nature; w<sup>ch</sup> is bold & violent where it feareth no re<sup>si</sup>staunce (as all [cowardly natures are by kinde) and where any difficultie or daunger appeareth, there, [more ready to attempt all by art, subtiltie, treason or treacherie. And so for y<sup>t</sup> he doubt [ed no great resistance in the poor la: to withstande the handes of them that should offer to [break her neck; he durst attempt the same more openlie. But in men whom he p[oisoned, for that they were such valiant knights y<sup>e</sup> most part of them, as he durst a[s soon as eaten his scabberd, as drawn his sword in publike against them (as all wretched cowards are): he was inforced to supplant them by fraud & other [men's hands, as at other times, he hath sought to doe vnto diuss other noble and [valiant personages, when he was afraid to haue mett them in the field as a knight should [have done. His treacheries towards, the late noble Earle of *Sussex* in the [ir many breaches, is notorius to all England. As also his bloudie practises against [diverse others. But as amongst many, none were more odious & disliked of all, then those [against Monsieur *Simier*] a straunger and Ambassadour! whom first he practised to haue poisoned [as hath been] touched before) and when that deuise tooke no place, then he appoint [ed that *Robin Tider*] his seruaunt) was to haue slaine him at y<sup>e</sup> *Blackefriers* at [Greenwich, as he went] foath at y<sup>e</sup> garden gate; but missing also of that purpose, for y<sup>t</sup> he pro-[found the Gentleman better pro-]uied & garded then he exprected, he delt with certaine *Flush* [iners and other *Pirates*] to sinke him at sea and other *Englishe* gent his fauourers, y<sup>t</sup> accompanied [him at his] returne into *Fraunce*. And thoughe they missed of this practise also [as not daring to] sett vpon him for feare of some of her Ma<sup>ts</sup> ships, who, to breake of th[is designment attended] by speciall commaundem<sup>t</sup>, to waite him ouer in safty) yett the foresa[id *English* gentlemen] were holden foure houres in chase at their coming backe: as M<sup>r</sup> *Rawley* [well knoweth] being then psent, and two of the chasers named *Clarke* and *Harris* confess[ed afterward] y<sup>e</sup> whole designm<sup>t</sup>. The Earle of *Ormond* hath likewise often declared [, and will avouch it to my Lord] of *Ley*: face, whensoever he shalbe called to y<sup>e</sup> same, y<sup>t</sup> at such time as he [had a quarrel] w<sup>th</sup> him and therby was likelie to be inforced to the feild (w<sup>ch</sup> he trembled [to think of]) he sought by all meanes to haue him made away by secrett murder, o[ffering £500 for] the doing thereof! And secondlie when y<sup>t</sup> deuise tooke no place, he appointed [with him the field, but secretlie suborning Willm Killegrew his servaunt to lie in the waie wh[ere Ormond should passe &, so to massacre him w<sup>th</sup> a calliv<sup>er</sup>, before he came to the place [appointed. W<sup>ch</sup> murder though it tooke no effect, for y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> matter was taken vp, before y<sup>e</sup> d[ay of the meeting; yett was Killegrew placed afterwarde in her Ma<sup>ts</sup> priue chamber by [Leycester after showing his readie minde, to doe for his m<sup>r</sup> so faithfull a service.

NOTE. — The side notes and missing portions are supplied from the 1641 edition.

The intended murder of Monsieur *Simiers* by sundry meanes.

The intended murder of the Earle of *Ormond*.

*William Killigrew*.

Scholar.

So faithfull a service? (quoth I) trulie, in my opinion, it was but an vnfit pre[ferment, for so fa]cinorous an act. And as I would be loath y<sup>t</sup> manie of his *Italias*, or other of [that art, should come] neare about her Ma<sup>tie</sup>'s kitchen: so much lesse would I, y<sup>t</sup> manie such his bloudie [champions] should be placed by him in her Ma<sup>ts</sup> chamber. Albeit for this gent in pticuler, it [may be, that with] chaunge of his place in service, he hath chaunged also his minde and effecons [and received] better instruccon in y<sup>e</sup> feare of y<sup>e</sup> Lord.

But yett in generall I must needes saie, y<sup>t</sup> it cannot but be piudiciall & exce[eding dangerous] vnto o<sup>r</sup> noble Princes Realme, y<sup>t</sup> anie one man w<sup>soeu</sup>r (especiallie such a one



Preoccupa-  
tion of her  
Majesties  
person.

An ordinary  
way of aspir-  
ing by pre-  
occupation of  
the Princes  
person.

A compari-  
son.

[as the World] taketh this man to be) should grow to so absolute au<sup>th</sup>oritie & com-  
andrie in y<sup>e</sup> C [ourt, as to place] about the Princes person (the heade, the harte, the liffe  
of the lande) w<sup>h</sup>soeu [er people liked] him best, & y<sup>t</sup> not vpō their deserts towards y<sup>e</sup> Prince,  
but towards himselfe: wh[ose fidelity] being more obliged to their advauncer then to y<sup>eir</sup>  
Soueraigne, do serue for [watchmen about] y<sup>e</sup> same, for y<sup>e</sup> pfitt of him, by whose  
appointm<sup>t</sup> they were placed. Who by their [means casting] indeede but netts and  
chaines, & invisible bonds about that pson, whom he ptendeth [to serve,] he shutteth vp  
his Prince in a prison most sure, though sweet and [senseless. Neither] is this arte of  
aspiring new or straunge vnto any man y<sup>t</sup> is e[perience in affairs of former] times: ffor  
y<sup>t</sup> it hath ben from y<sup>e</sup> begining of all governm<sup>t</sup> [a troden path of all aspirers. In  
Stories both] Sacred and Pphane, forreyne and domesticall of all [Nations, King-  
doms, Countries, & States you] shall reade, y<sup>t</sup> such as ment to mount aboue [others, & to  
govern all at their own discretion: did lay] this for the first ground and principle of [their  
purposē: to possess themselves of all such as were in] place about the [principal: even  
as hee who contending to hold a good City at his owne disposition, not dareth make open  
warre against the same: getteth secretly into his hands or at his devotion, all the  
Townes, Villages, Castles, Fortresses, Bulwarkes, Rampires, Waters, Wayes, Ports and  
Passages, about the same, and so without drawing any sword against the said City,  
hee bringeth the same into bondage to abide his will and pleasure.

This did all these in the *Romane* Empire, who rose from subjects to bee great  
Princes, and to put down Emperours. This did all those in *France* and other Kingdomes,  
who at sundry times have tyrranized their Princes. And in our owne Country the  
examples are manifest of *Vortigern*, *Harold*, *Henry of Lancaster*, *Richard of Warwick*,  
*Richard of Gloucester*, *John of Northumberland*, & diverse others, who by this means  
specially have pulled downe their lawful soveraignes.]

MS. Folio 64.

The way of  
aspiring in  
Duke *Dudley*.

[And] to speake a word or two of the last, for y<sup>t</sup> he was this mans Father: doth  
not all *Eng*: knowe, y<sup>t</sup> he [first over] othrew the good Duke of *Somerset*, by drawing  
to his devocon y<sup>e</sup> frends & servants of y<sup>e</sup> Duke? [And after] wards did he not possesse  
himself of y<sup>e</sup> king's owne person & brought him to y<sup>e</sup> most shamefull [dis]inheriting of  
his owne Roiall Sisters: and all this, by possessing fyrst the principall men y<sup>t</sup> were in  
authoritie about him?

Wherfor S<sup>r</sup> if my Lo: of *Ley*, haue y<sup>e</sup> same plott in his heade (as most men thinke)  
& y<sup>t</sup> he meane one [day] to giue y<sup>e</sup> same push at the Crowne<sup>by the lyne</sup> of *Huntington*, against all  
y<sup>e</sup> race & lyne of *K. H.* 7. in [ge] nerall w<sup>ch</sup> his Father gaue before him, by ptence of y<sup>e</sup>  
house of *Suffolke*, against y<sup>e</sup> children of *K. H.* 8: in pticuler: he wanteth not reason to  
follow y<sup>e</sup> same meanes & platfforme of planting speciall psons, for his purpose about  
the Prince for surelie his Fathers plott wanted no wittie deuice or pparacon, but  
onelie y<sup>t</sup> God ouerthrew it at y<sup>e</sup> instant: as happelie he maie do this mans also  
notw<sup>th</sup>standing any dilligence y<sup>t</sup> humane wisdom can vse to y<sup>e</sup> contrarie.

Gentleman.

To this said y<sup>e</sup> Gent y<sup>t</sup> my Lo. of *Ley* hath a purpose to shoote one daie at the  
diadem by y<sup>e</sup> title of Count: is not a thing obscure in it selfe, and it shalbe more  
plainlie proued heerafter. But now will I shew vnto yo<sup>u</sup>,<sup>for yor instructio</sup> how well this fellow hath  
followed his Fathers platfforme (or rather passed y<sup>e</sup> same) in possessing himself of all



her Ma<sup>ts</sup> servants, frends, & forces, to serue his turne at y<sup>t</sup> time for execucōn, and in the meane space for pparacon.

First, in the priuie chamber, next to her Ma<sup>ts</sup> Persoun, y<sup>e</sup> most p<sup>t</sup> are his owne creatures (as he calleth them) y<sup>t</sup> is, such as acknowledg their being in y<sup>t</sup> place, from him: and y<sup>e</sup> rest he overruleth [ei] ther by fflatterie, or feare, as none maie dare but to serue his turne. And his raigne is so absolute in this place, (as also in all other p<sup>ts</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> Courte) as nothing can passe but <sup>by</sup> his admissiō, nothing can be said, donne, or signified, wherof he is not pticulerlie advertised: No bill, no supplicacō, no complaint, no suite, no speach, can passe from anie man to y<sup>e</sup> Princess (except it be from one of the counsell) but by his good liking: or if there do, the being admonished therof (as psentlie he shall,) y<sup>e</sup> partie delinquent is sure after to endure the smart therof. Wherby he holdeth as it were a locke vpon the [cares] of his Prince, and y<sup>e</sup> tongs of all Her Ma<sup>ts</sup> Seruants so surelie chained to his girdle, as no man dareth to speake anie one thing y<sup>t</sup> maie offend him, though it be neuer so treu or be soonefull for her Ma<sup>tie</sup> to know.

Leycesters power in the privy chamber.

As well apered in his late marriage w<sup>th</sup> Dame Essex, w<sup>ch</sup> albeit y<sup>t</sup> was celebrated twyce: firste att Killingworth, and secondly att Wansteede (in the psence of the Earle of Warwick, L. Northe, Sir Frauncs Knowells and others) and this expectly known to the whole courte, w<sup>th</sup> the very day, the place, the witnesses, and the mynister thatt marryed them togeather; yet durst no man open his mouth to make her Ma<sup>ty</sup> privy therevnto, vntill Mounsuer Simiers disclosed the same, (and thereby incurred his highe displeasure) nor yet in many dayes after for feare of Leicester. W<sup>ch</sup> is a subiection most dishonorable and daungerous to any P[rince] lyvinge, to stand att the devocon of his subiecte, whatt to heare or not to heare, of things that passe w<sup>th</sup>in his owne [Realm.] And hereof y<sup>t</sup> followeth that noe sute can pwayne in [Court, be it] never soe meane, excepte he firste be made a[cquainted] therew<sup>th</sup>, and receave not onely the thanks, but also [bee admitted] vnto a greate pte of the gayne and comodetye th[ereof]. Which] as yt is a greate inivry to the suter: Soe is y<sup>t</sup> [far] greater to the bounty, honor and security of the [Prince, by] whose liberallity this man feedeth onely, and [fortifieth himself,] deprivinge his souaigne of all grace, thank[s and goodwill of th]e same. For w<sup>ch</sup> cause he giueth onl [ordinarily, to every suit]er, thatt her Ma<sup>ty</sup> is nighe and Par[simonious of herself, and] very difficill to graunt any sute, [where it is not only upon his] incessant solitacon. [Whereby he fillith his owne purse the more, and emptieth the hearts of such as receive benefit, from due thanks from their Princes for the sute obtained.

Leycester married at Wanstead; when her Majesty was at M. Stoners house. Doctor Culpepper, Physitian Minister.

No sute can passe but by Leycester.

Read Polidore in the 7 yeare of King Richard I. and you shall find this proceeding of certain about that K. to bee put as a great cause of his overthrow.

Hereof also ensueth, that no man may bee preferred in Court (bee hee otherwise never so well a deserving servant to her Majesty) except hee bee one of *Leycester's* faction]

MS. Folio. 65.

or followers: none can be advaunced, excepte he [bee liked and] pferred by him: none can receave grace, excepte he [stand in his] good favoure, noe one may lyve in countenance, or qu[iet of life,] excepte he take yt, vse yt, ane acknowledge yt fr[om him, so as all the favoures, graces, dignityes, pfer, riches & [rewards,] w<sup>ch</sup> her Ma<sup>ty</sup> bestoweth, or the Realme can yeld: in [must serve] to purchase this man private frends, and favoure [onely to] advance his pty, and to fortyfie his faction. W<sup>ch</sup> [faction if] by theis meanes y<sup>t</sup> be greate, (as in deede y<sup>t</sup> [is:] you] may not marvaile, seeinge the riches and

No preferments but by Leycester to Leycestrians.

Leycesters  
anger and  
insolency.

Leycester's  
peremptory  
dealing.

Breaking of  
order in her  
Majesties  
household.

wealth, [of so] worthie a comon weale, doe serve him but for a [price to] buy the same. W<sup>th</sup> thinge himselfe well knowing, [frameth] his spyrits of pcedinge accordingly. And first, upon confydence thereof, is becom soe Insolent and [impotent of his ire that noe man may beare the same, how [justly] or vniustlie soever yt be conceived: for albeyt he [begin to] hate may, vpon bare surmise onely (as comon [ly it falleth] out, Ambition beinge alwayes the mother of [suspicion]) yet he psecuteth the same, w<sup>th</sup> suche implac[able cruelty,] as there is noe longe abidinge for the ptye [in that place. As mighte be shewed by the examples [of many] whome he hathe chased from the courte, [upon his] onely displeasure w<sup>th</sup>oute other cause, being [known to be otherwise moste zealous Protestants. As [Sir Jerome] Bowes, M<sup>r</sup> Gorge Scote, and others that we [could name.] To this insolency is alsoe joyned (as by nature [it followeth] moste absolute and pemptory de[aling] in all thinges wherof y<sup>t</sup> pleaseth to dispose, w[ithout] respec<sup>t</sup>e either of Reason, order, due, righte, s[ubordination, custome, conueniency, or the like: whereof not [withstanding] Princes them selues are wonte to haue regarde [in] disposicon of theire matters: As for example a[mong the servants of the Q Ma. household, y<sup>t</sup> is an a[ncient] and most comendable order and custome, that [when] a place of highere rowmes falleth voide, he that in succession is nexte, and hath made pfe of his [worthiness] in an inferior place, shold rise and possesse th[e same,] (except it be for som extraordinary cause) to [the end that noeman vnexperienced or vntried, shold [be placed] in the higher Rowmes the fyrste [day, to the prejudice] of others, and difference of the [Prince. Which most rea]sonable custome, this man [contending and breaking at] his pleasure, [thrusteth into higher rooms any person whatsoever, so he like his inclination or feel his reward: albeit he neither be fit for the purpose, nor have been so much as clerk in any inferior office before. The like he uses out of the court, in all other places where matters should pass by order elecion or degree: as in]

MS. Folio 66.

Leycester's  
violating of  
all order in  
the countrey  
abroad.

the Uniuersities, in eleccion of Scholers & heades of houses, in Ecclesiastical persons] for dignities of Church, in Officers, Maiestrates, Stewardest of land, Sheriffs & Knights] of the Shires, in Burgesses of y<sup>e</sup> Pliam<sup>t</sup>, in Comissioners, Iudges, & Justices of the peace, (wherof manie in euerie shire must weare his liu<sup>e</sup>ey) all other] the like where this mans will, must stand for reason, & his lres for absolu<sup>te</sup> laws,] neyther is their any man, maiestrate, or cominer, in the Realme, who dareth not] sooner denie, their peticcō of her Ma<sup>ty</sup> lres, vpon iust causes, (for that her highnes is content afterwards to be satisfied w<sup>th</sup> reason) then to resiste ye com]amedm<sup>t</sup> of this mans lres, who will admitt no excuse or satisfaiō, but onely the execucon of his sd comaundm<sup>t</sup> [bee it right or wrong.]

Lawyer.

A Leycestrian  
Common-  
wealth.

To this aunswered y<sup>e</sup> Lawier now, verelie (S<sup>r</sup>) yo<sup>u</sup> pointe vnto me a very straung patt]erne of a pfect Potentate in the Court: belike y<sup>t</sup> straunger, who calleth o<sup>r</sup> Stat]e in his printed booke *Leicestrensē remp* :, a *Leycestrian Commōwealth* or the comōwelth of my Lo: of L:; knoweth much of theise matters. But to holde (S<sup>r</sup>) still] w<sup>th</sup>in the Court: I do assure yo<sup>u</sup> y<sup>t</sup> by consideracō, w<sup>ch</sup> yo<sup>u</sup> haue laid downe, I do begin] now to pceyve, y<sup>t</sup> his ptie must needes be verie great & strong w<sup>th</sup>in the Court, seing y<sup>t</sup> he hath so manie waies & meanes to increase, inrych, & incorradg y<sup>e</sup> same,

and] also strong abilitie to treade downe his enemies. Y<sup>e</sup> Comon speach of manie want<sup>eth</sup> not] reason I pceyue, w<sup>ch</sup> call him y<sup>e</sup> harte and life of y<sup>e</sup> Court.

The] y w<sup>th</sup> call him y<sup>e</sup> harte (sd y<sup>e</sup> Gent) vpon, a little occasion more, would call him also the] heade, and then I mveile w<sup>t</sup> would be lefte for her Ma<sup>tie</sup> when they take from her both] life, hart, & headshipp in her owne Realme? But y<sup>e</sup> truth is, y<sup>t</sup> he hath the Court at] this daie in almost the same case, y<sup>t</sup> his father had it in K *Ed*: daies, by y<sup>e</sup> same] deuce (y<sup>e</sup> Lo: forbid,) y<sup>t</sup> it eu come fullie to the same estate, for then we know w<sup>t</sup> ensued] to y<sup>e</sup> principall:) and if yo<sup>u</sup> would have an evident demonstraccō of this mans colour & favour in that place: call yo<sup>u</sup> but to mynde y<sup>e</sup> times when her Ma<sup>tie</sup> vpō most j]ust and vrgent occasions did w<sup>th</sup>draw: but a litle her wonted favour & countenance to]wards him, did not all the Court as it were, mutiney psentlie? did not euie man hang the lipp? except a few who afterwards paid sweetly for their mirth, were there not euie daie new deuises wrought out, y<sup>t</sup> some should be on their kne<sup>s</sup> to her M<sup>tie</sup>, some should weepe & put finger in the eye: other should fynd out certaine cout manner of threatning: other reasons <sup>of</sup> pswasions of loue: other of profit: other of hon[our other of necessitie; and all to gett him recalled backe to favour againe? And] had her Ma<sup>tie</sup> any rest pmitted vnto her, vntill she had yelded and graunted to] the same.

Gentleman.  
Leycester  
called the  
heart and life  
of the Court.

A demonstra-  
tion of *Leyces-  
ters* tyrannie  
in the Court.

Consider then (I praie yo<sup>u</sup>) y<sup>t</sup> if at y<sup>t</sup> time, in his disgrace, he had his faccon so fast] assured to him self: w<sup>t</sup> hath he nowe in his prosperitie, after so manie years of fo]rtificacon? Wherin by all reason he hath not beē negligent, seing that in policy the] first point of <sup>good</sup> fortificacon, is to make y<sup>t</sup> fort impregnable, w<sup>ch</sup> once h]ath been in] daunger to be lost. Wherof yo<sup>u</sup> haue example in *Ric D*: of *Yorke*, in the time of Henry the sixt] who being once in the Kings handes by his owne submissiō, & as then for his deserts, he should haue suffered: puided after, y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> King [should never be able to] oureache him y<sup>e</sup> seconde time, or haue him in his power [to do him hurt, but made] himself strong enough to pull downe y<sup>e</sup> other w<sup>th</sup> extirpac [of his family. And] thus much of y<sup>e</sup> Court, houshold and chamber of her Ma<sup>tie</sup>. But now if wee shall passe] from Court to counsell, we shall fynd him no lesse [fortified but rather more: for albeit] the puidence of God hath ben such, y<sup>t</sup> in the most [honourable assembly, there hath not] wanted some two or three of y<sup>e</sup> wisest, grauest, [& most experienced in our State, that have seene] and marked this mans perillous pceeding [from the beginning (whereof notwithstanding two are now deceased,) and their places supplied to Ley]cester's good liking:) yet (alas) the wisdom of these worthy men, hath discovered alwayes more, then their authorities were able to redresse: (the others great power and violence considered) and for the residue of that bench and table, though I doubt not but there bee divers, who in heart detest his doings (as there were also, no doubt among the Councillours of King *Edward*, who misliketh this man's Father's attempts, though not so hardy as to contrary the same :) yet for most part of the Council present, they are knowne to bee so affected in particular, the one for that hee is to him a brother, the other a father, the other a kinsman, the other an allie, the other a fast obliged friend, the other a fellow]

Leycester pro-  
videth never  
to come in the  
Queenes dan-  
ger again.

Anno Regni 31.

Leycesters  
puissance in  
the privy  
councell.

L. Keeper.  
L. Chamber-  
laine.

or follower in faccon, as now will stande in breach against [him: non dare resist or encounter his designm<sup>ts</sup>: but euie man yeilding rather to y<sup>e</sup> [force of his flow,

pmitteth him to pearce, and passe at his pleasure, in w<sup>t</sup>soeu h[is will is once setled to obtaine.

Matters wherein the councell are enforced to winke at Leycester.

And wherof (were I not staied for respec<sup>t</sup>e of some whom I will [not name] I could alledge straunge examples, not somuch in affaires belonging t[o subjects and to priuate men, (as were y<sup>e</sup> cases of *Snowden* forrests, *Denbigh* [of *Killingworth*, of his faire Pastures fowlie pcured by *Southam*, of y<sup>e</sup> Archbishop [of *Canterbury*, of the Lord *Barklie*, of S<sup>r</sup> *Iohn Throckmorton*, of M<sup>r</sup> *Robynson* & y<sup>e</sup> like;) wh[erein those of the counsell y<sup>t</sup> disliked his doings, least dared to oppose themselues to [the same; but also in things y<sup>t</sup> ptaine direc<sup>t</sup>lie to y<sup>e</sup> Crowne & dignitie, to y<sup>e</sup> State and to [Commonweale, & to the saftie and continewaunce therof. It is not secure for <sup>anie</sup> one c[ouncellour, or other of au<sup>t</sup>horitie to take notice of my Lo: errors or misdeeds, but w<sup>th</sup> e[xtreme peril of their owne ruine.

Leycesters intelligence with the rebellion in Ireland.

As for example: in the begining of the rebelliō in *Ireland*, when my [Lord of *Leycester* was] in some disgrace, and consequentlie, as he imagined but in fraile [state at home, he thought it not unexpedient, for his better assurance, to hold some [intelligence also y<sup>t</sup>, waie, for all events, and so he did: wherof there was so good [evidence and testimonie founde, vpon one of y<sup>e</sup> fyrst account, y<sup>t</sup> was there slaine (as hon[ourable personges of their knowledge haue assured me) as would haue ben sufficient, [to touch the life of anie subiect in y<sup>e</sup> lande, or any state Xrian, but onelie my Lo: of [*Leycester*: who is a subiect w<sup>th</sup>out subieccion.

*Acteon's* case now come to *England*.

ffor w<sup>t</sup> thinke yo<sup>u</sup>? durst anie man take notice heerof, or auouch y<sup>t</sup> he h[ath seen thus much? durst he y<sup>t</sup> tooke it in *Ireland*, deliū the same where especiallie [he should have done? or they who receyued it <sup>in</sup> *England*, for it came to great hands) use [it to the benefit] of their Prince & countrey? No surelie; for if it had ben but onelie sus[pected, that they] had but onelie seen such a thing, it would haue ben as daungerous to th[em, as it] was to *Acteon* to haue seen *Diana* and her maidens naked: whose case [is so common] now in *England* as nothing more, & so do y<sup>e</sup> examples of dius well decl[are: whose] vnfortunate knowledge of to manie secretts, brought them quicklie to [unfortunate endes.

*Salvato<sup>r</sup>* slaine in his bed.

ffor we heare of one *Salvato<sup>r</sup>* slaine in his bed, long vsed in great mis[teries of base affaires & dishonest accons, who afterwards vpon w<sup>t</sup> demeritts I know not) [sustained a harde fortune for being late in his studie, well neare vnto midnight, [(if I be rightlie informed) went home to his chamber, & y<sup>e</sup> next morninge was [found slaine in his bed. We heare also of one *Doughtie* hanged in hast by Cap<sup>en</sup> *D[rake* upon y<sup>e</sup> sea, and y<sup>t</sup> by order (as is thought) before his deptime out of *England*, [for that he was] ouer priuie to the secretts of this good Earle.

*Doughty* hanged by *Drake*.

The story of *Gates* hanged at *Tiborne*.

There was also this last sommer past one *Gates* hanged at *Tiborne* [among other, for robbing of carriers w<sup>ch</sup> *Gates* had ben latelie clarke of my Lo: [rds kitching, and had laied out (as he sd) much money of his owne for my Lo: p[ui]sion, [being also otherwise, in so great favo<sup>r</sup> and grace w<sup>th</sup> his Lo: as no man living w[as thought to bee more priuie of his secretts then this man, whervpon also it is to bee [thought that he presumed the rather to comitt this robberie, (for to such things doth [my Lords good favour] most extende :) and he being apphended and in daunger for y<sup>e</sup> same, [hee made his recourse] to his honour for, ptecon, (as y<sup>e</sup> fashiō is) and y<sup>t</sup> he might be le[borne out, as divers of le]sse meritt had ben by his Lo: in more hieinous causes be[fore him.

The good Ear]le aunswered his seruau<sup>t</sup> & deare Priuado courtes[ly, and assured him, for his life], howsoeu for outward show or complent y<sup>e</sup> forme of Law [might pass against him, But] *Gates* seing himselfe condemned, & nothing now being [betweene his head and the halter, but the] worde of y<sup>e</sup> maiestrate w<sup>ch</sup> might come [in an instant, when it would bee too late to] sende to his Lo: remembring also [the small assurance of his said Lords word by his former] dealings [towards o] ther [men, whereof this man was too much privy: hee thought good] to [sollicite his case] also [by some other of his friends, though not so puissant as his Lord and Master, who dealing indeed, both diligently and effectually in his affaire, found the matter more difficult a great deale than either hee or they had imagined: for that my Lord of *Leycester*, was not onely not his favorer, but a great hastener of his death under hand; and that with such care, diligence, vehemency, and irresistable meanes, (having the Law also on his side,) that there was no hope at all of escaping: which thing when *Gates* heard of hee easily beleevd for the experience hee had of his Masters good nature, and said, that he alwayes mistrusted the same, considering how]

MS. Folio. 68.

much his Lo: was indebt to him, & he made priuie to his Lo: sowle secretts w<sup>ch</sup> secrets hee] would there haue vttered pntlie in the face of all y<sup>e</sup> World, but y<sup>t</sup> he feared torment [or] speedie death, w<sup>th</sup> some extraordinarie crueltie, if he should so haue done, & ther[efore] he disclosed y<sup>e</sup> same onelie to a Gent of Wo<sup>r</sup>, whom he trusted especiallie whose nae I maie nott vtter for some causes (but it begineth w<sup>th</sup> H.) and I am in hope eare it be long, by meanes of a frende of myne, to haue a sighte of that discourse & reporte of *Gates*, w<sup>ch</sup> hetherto I haue not seen nor never spake I w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Gent that keepeth it, though I<sup>be</sup> well assured y<sup>t</sup> the whole matter passed in substaunce as I haue heere recompted it.

Whervnto I aunswered, y<sup>t</sup> in good faith it were pittie y<sup>t</sup> this relacon should be lost, for y<sup>t</sup> it is verie like, y<sup>t</sup> manie<sup>rare</sup> things be declared therin, seing it is done by a man so priuie to the affaires themselues, wherin also he had ben vsed an instrum<sup>t</sup>. I will haue it (quoth y<sup>e</sup> Gent) or else my frends shall faile me, howbeit not so soone as I would, for y<sup>t</sup> he is in the West Countrey y<sup>t</sup> should pcure it for me, and will not returne for certaine monthes, but after I shall see him againe, I will not leaue him vntill he pcure it for me, as he hath pmised. Well (quoth I,) but what is become of thy<sup>t</sup> euiden<sup>ce</sup> founde in *Ireland* vnder my Lo: hands, w<sup>ch</sup> no man dare pursue, auouch, or beholde.

*Scholar.*

This relation of *Gates*, may serve hereafter for an addition in the second edition of this booke.

Truelie (said y<sup>e</sup> Gent) I am informed that it lieth safelie reserued in good custodie, to be brought forth and auouched, whensoeu it shall please God so to dispose of her Ma<sup>tie</sup> hart, as to lende an indifferent eare, as well to his accusers, as to himself, in judgm<sup>t</sup>.

*Gentleman.*

Neither must yo<sup>u</sup> thinke, y<sup>t</sup> this is straunge, nor y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> things are few, w<sup>ch</sup> are in such sort reserued in decke for the time to come, even among great psonages, & of high calling, for seing y<sup>e</sup> pst state of his power to be such, & the tempest of his tiranie to be so strong and boistrous, as no man maie stande in the rage therof, w<sup>th</sup>out pill, for y<sup>t</sup> even from her Ma<sup>tie</sup> herself, in y<sup>e</sup> lenite of her Princelie minde, he extorteth w<sup>t</sup> he designeth,

The deck reserved for *Leycester*.

Leycesters  
puissant vio-  
lence with  
the Prince  
herselfe.

The Earle of  
Sussex his  
speech of the  
Earle of Ley-  
cester.

The Lord  
Burghley.

Leycesters  
power in the  
countrie  
abroad.

either by fraud, flatterie, false informacō, request, ptence, or violet importunitie, to y<sup>e</sup> oubearing of all, whom he meaneth to oppresse: no mveile thē though manie<sup>even</sup> of the best and faithfulest subiects of y<sup>e</sup> Lande, do yeilde to y<sup>e</sup> pnt time, & do keepe silence in some matters, y<sup>t</sup> otherwise they would take it for dutie to vtter. And in this kinde, it is not longe sithence a Wo<sup>r</sup>: and a Wise frende of mine told me a testimonie in secreatt, from the mouth of as noble and graue a Counsellor, as *Englad* hath inioyed this manie hundredth yeares: I meane y<sup>e</sup> late Lo Chamb; w<sup>th</sup> whom my said frend being alone at his house in *Londō*, not xx<sup>tie</sup> daies before his death, conferred somew<sup>t</sup> familiarlie about theise<sup>& like</sup> matters, as w<sup>th</sup> a true father of his Countrey and Commonwealth: and after manie complaints in y<sup>e</sup> behalfe of dius, who had opened their greife vnto counsellors, & saw y<sup>t</sup> <sup>no</sup> notice would be taken therof: y<sup>e</sup> said noblemā, turning himself somew<sup>t</sup> about from the water (for he sate neare his ponde side, [where] he behelde y<sup>e</sup> taking of a pike or carpe) said to my frend: it is no mveile (S<sup>r</sup>) [for who dareth intermeddle himself in my Lo: affaires? I will tell yo<sup>u</sup> (quoth he) [in confidence betwixt yo<sup>u</sup> and me, their is as wise a man and as graue, & as fait[hfull a Counsellor, as *England* breedeth (meaning therbie y<sup>e</sup> Lo: Trer who ha[th] as much in his keeping of *Ley*: owne hand writing, as is sufficient to hange h[im] if either] he durst psent the same to her Ma<sup>tie</sup>, or her Ma<sup>tie</sup> do Justice when [it should be pre]sented. But in deed (quoth he) the time pmitteth neither of them [both, therefore] it is in vaine for anie man to struggle w<sup>th</sup> him.

Theise were that noblemans words, wherbie yo<sup>u</sup> maie consider [whether my Lord of *Leycester*] be strong in counsell or no: and whether his fortificacon be suff[icient in that place.] But now if out of y<sup>e</sup> counsell, we will turne buto<sup>r</sup> eyes [in the countrey abroad,] we shall finde as good fortificacon also there, as we ha[ve perused already in cou]rte & counsell: and shall well pceiue y<sup>t</sup> this mans [plot, is no fond or indiscreet] te plott, but excellent well grounded, and [such as in all proportions hath his due correspondence.]

[Consider then, the cheife and principall parts of this land for martiall affaires, for use and commodity of armour, for strength, for opportunity, for liberty of the people, as dwelling farthest of from the presence and aspect of their Prince, such parts (I say) as are fittest for sudden enterprises, without danger of interception: as are the North, the West, the Countries of *Wales*, the Ilands round about the land, and sundry other places within the same: Are they not all at this day at his disposition?]

MS. Folio 69.

are they not all by his pcurm<sup>t</sup> in the onelie [hands of his friends and allies? or of such, as by other matches, haue y<sup>e</sup> same complott and [purpose with him?

Yorke Earle  
of Huntington.

Barwick. The  
Lord Hunsden.

Wales. Sir  
Henry Sidney.  
The Earle of  
Pembrooke.

In *Yorke* is president, y<sup>e</sup> man y<sup>t</sup> of all other is fittest<sup>for</sup> y<sup>t</sup> place; y<sup>t</sup> is, his [nearest in affinitie, his dearest in friendshipp, y<sup>e</sup> heade of his faccon, & open [competitor of the Scepter. In *Barwicke* is cap<sup>en</sup>, his wiues vncle, most assured to himself [and *Huntington*, as one who at convenient time, maie aduance their designm<sup>ts</sup>, as much as anie [one man in *England*.

In *Wales* y<sup>e</sup> cheifest au<sup>t</sup>horitie from the prince is in his owne brother [in law: but among the people, of naturall affecon, is the Earle of *Pembrooke*: who [both by marriage

adg of his sisters daughter is made his Allie, and by dependance is kept [to bee wholie, at his dispositiō. The west parte of *England* is vnder *Bedford*, [a man wholly deuoted to his and y<sup>e</sup> Puritan faccon. In *Ireland* was governo<sup>r</sup> [of late the principall instrum<sup>t</sup> appointed for their purposes: both in respecte of [his heat and affecon towards their designm<sup>ts</sup>, as also of some secrett discontent [ment, which he hath towards her Ma<sup>tie</sup> and y<sup>e</sup> state put for certeine hard speaches & ingr[ate recompences, as he ptendeth: but indeed for y<sup>t</sup> he is knowen to be of nature fierie, and [impatient of state, from seing y<sup>t</sup> commō wealth on foote, w<sup>th</sup> the next competito<sup>rs</sup> for [their gain, haue painted out to him & such others more pleasant then y<sup>e</sup> terrestr[iall paradise it selfe.

The West.  
Earle of *Bedford*.  
The Lord  
*Grey*.

Her Majesty  
(as he saith,  
for striking  
of Master  
*Fortescue*) cal-  
led him lame  
wretch: that  
grieved him  
so, (for that  
hee was hurt  
in her service  
at *Lieth*) as  
hee said, hee  
would live to  
be revenged.

This then is the *Hector*, this is y<sup>e</sup> *Ajax* appointed for the enterprise, wh[en the time shall come. This must be (forsooth) another *Ric* of *Warwicke*, to gaine y<sup>e</sup> cro[wne for *Henry*] the ix<sup>th</sup> of the house of *Yorke*: as the other *Ric* did put downe *Hen*: ye vi<sup>th</sup> of [the House of] *Lanc*: and placed *Edward* y<sup>e</sup> 4, from whom *Hunting*: deriueth his title: therfo[re this man] is necessarilie to be intertained from time to time, (as we see now he is) in [some charge] and mciall accon, to y<sup>e</sup> ende his experience. Power, and credit maie grow [the more, and] he be able at the time to haue souldiers at his comaundm<sup>t</sup>. And for the [former charge] w<sup>ch</sup> he helde of late in *Ireland*, as this man had not ben called awaie, for [exe]cucon of some other secrett purposes, for aduancm<sup>t</sup> of their designm<sup>ts</sup>: [so be well] assured y<sup>t</sup> for y<sup>e</sup> time to come, it is to be furnished againe w<sup>th</sup> a sure and [fast friend] to *Ley*. and to y<sup>t</sup> faccon.

In Scotland  
or elsewhere,  
against the  
next inheri-  
tours or pre-  
sent posses-  
sor.  
Sir *Iohn*  
*Parotte*.  
Sir *Edward*  
*Horsey*.

Sir *Amias*  
*Paulet*.  
Sir *Thomas*  
*Layton*.

In y<sup>e</sup> *Ile Weight* I graunt y<sup>t</sup> *Lei*: hath lost a great frend & a trustie serv[ant by the death of Cap<sup>en</sup> *Horseie*, but yett y<sup>e</sup> matter is supplied by the successiō of [another, no lesse assured vnto him then y<sup>e</sup> former or rather more throughe y<sup>e</sup> ban[d of affinitie by his wife. The two Ilands of *Gersey* & *Gurnseie* are in the possessiō[n of two frends and most obliged dependants. The one, by reason he is exceedingly [addicted to the Puritan pceeding: the other, as now being ioyned vnto him by y<sup>e</sup> mar[riage of M<sup>ris</sup> *Besse* his wiues sister, both daughters to S<sup>r</sup> *ffraunces*, *Knowles*, or (at least) to my La. *Knowles*, and so become a Riual, companiō and brother, who was [before] (thoughe trustie) yett but his servant.

And theise are the cheife Keies, Ffortresses and Bulwarks, w<sup>th</sup>in, w<sup>th</sup>out and [about the Realme, w<sup>ch</sup> my Lo: of *L*: possessing (as he doth,) he maie be assured of y<sup>e</sup> [body within: wh[ere notwithstanding (as hath ben shewed) he wanteth no due ppar[ation for strength:] having at his disposicon (besids all other aides and helpes speci[fied before, her Majesties] horse, & stables, by interest of his owne office: her Armo<sup>r</sup>, Artill[ery and Munition, by] the office of his brother y<sup>e</sup> Earle of *Warw*: y<sup>e</sup> tower of *Lo*: and [treasure therein, by the] dependaunce of his sworne servaunt S<sup>r</sup> *Owen Hop*: as [ready to receive and] furnishe him w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> whole (if occasiō serued) as one of his pde[cessors was, to receive his Father] in k. *Ed*: daies, for y<sup>e</sup> like effect, against her Ma<sup>tie</sup>, [and her sister. And in the City of *London* itself wh]at this man at a pinch could doe, by y<sup>e</sup> h[elp of some of the principall men, and chief leaders,] and (as it were) comaunders of [the Commons there, and by the bestirring of *Fleetwood* his made] Recorder, and other such [his instruments: and also in all other Townes, Ports, Cities, of importance,] by such of his own setting up, as he hath placed there to serve his designements, and justices of peace with other, that in most Shires doe weare his livery, and are at his appointment: the simplest man within the Realme doth consider.]

Her Majes-  
ties stable.  
Her armour,  
munition,  
and artillery.  
The Tower.

*London*.

Sir *Rowland*  
*Heyward*, &c.  
Madde *Fleet-*  
*wood*.



[Whereunto if you adde now his owne forces and furniture, which hee hath in *Killingworth* Castle, and other places, as also the forces of *Huntington* in particular, with their friends, followers, allies, and Compartenors: you shall find that they are not behind in their preparations. For my Lord of *Huntingtons* forwardnesse in the cause (said I) there is no man, I thinke, which maketh doubt:]

Scholar.  
My Lord of  
*Huntingtons*  
preparation  
at *Ashby*.

MS. Folio 70.

marie for his priuate forces, albeit they maie be verie good, for anything I do [know] to y<sup>e</sup> contrarie (especiallie at his house w<sup>th</sup>in 5 miles of *Killing*: where one [told] me some yeares past, y<sup>t</sup> he had furniture readie for 5,000 men) yett do I not thinke, but y<sup>t</sup> theies are farr inferior to my Lo: of *Ley*: who is taken to haue excessive stoore, & y<sup>t</sup> in diuse places. And as for y<sup>e</sup> castle last menconed by yo<sup>u</sup>, th<sup>ere</sup> are men of good intelligence, of no smale iudgm<sup>t</sup>, who reporte, y<sup>t</sup> in y<sup>e</sup> same, he hath well to furnish, ten 1,000 good souldiers, of all things necessarie both for horse and mā, besides all other munitiō, armor, and artillerie, (wherof great store was brought thither vnder ptence of triumph, when her ma<sup>tie</sup> was there, & neuer as yett carried backe againe) and besides y<sup>e</sup> greate aboundaunce of readie coine, there laid vp (as is said) sufficient for any exploit to be done w<sup>th</sup> in the Realme.

*Killingworth*  
Castle.

And I knowe y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> estimacon of this place was such, among diuse, manie yeares agoe: as when at a time her ma<sup>tie</sup> laie daungerouslie sicke, & like to die, at Haptō Court, a certen Gent of the Court came to my Lo: of *Hunting*: , & told him, y<sup>t</sup> forasmuch as he tooke him to be next in successiō after her Ma<sup>tie</sup>, he would offer him a meane of great helpe, for compassing of his purpose, after y<sup>e</sup> decease of her Ma<sup>tie</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> was, y<sup>e</sup> possessiō of *Killingworth* Castle (for at y<sup>t</sup> tyme theyse two Earls were not verie friends, nor confederates together) and y<sup>t</sup> being had he shewed to y<sup>e</sup> Earle y<sup>e</sup> great furniture & welth, w<sup>ch</sup> thereby he should possesse for y<sup>e</sup> pursuite of his purpose.

Ralph Lane.

The offer and  
acceptation of  
*Killingworth*  
Castle.

The pposicon was well liked, & y<sup>e</sup> matter esteemed of great importaunce & consequentlie receyued w<sup>th</sup> many thanks. But yett afterwards her Ma<sup>tie</sup> by y<sup>e</sup> good prouidence of God, recouering again, letted the execucon of y<sup>e</sup> bargain, & my Lo: of *Huntinge*: hauing occasiō to ioyne amitie w<sup>th</sup> *Ley*: had more respect to his owne comoditie, then to his frends securitie (as comonlie in such psons & cases it falleth out) and so discouered y<sup>e</sup> whole deuise unto him, who forgatt not after, to plague y<sup>e</sup> deuiser from time to time, by secreatt meanes, vntill he hath brought him to y<sup>t</sup> poor estate, as all the World seeth; thoughe manie men be not acquainted w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> cause of this disgrace and bare fortune.

Lawyer.

To this aunswered y<sup>e</sup> laweier: In good faith (Gent) yo<sup>u</sup> open great misteries vnto me, w<sup>ch</sup> eyther I knew not, or considered not pticularlie before, & no mveile for y<sup>t</sup> my pfessiō and exercise of law restraineth me from much companie keeping: & when I happen to be amongst some y<sup>t</sup> would tell be much therein, I dare not either ask, or heare if any of himself begynne to talke, least afterwards y<sup>e</sup> speach come to light, I be fetched ouer the cooles (as y<sup>e</sup> pverbe is) for y<sup>e</sup> same, vnder pten [of] another thing. But yo<sup>u</sup> (who are not suspected for religiō) haue much greater priuiledge in such matters, both to heare and speake againe, w<sup>ch</sup> men of my [estate] dare not doe: onelie this I know before, y<sup>t</sup> throughout all *England* my Lord [of *Leycester* is] taken for *Dominus factotū*: whose excellencie above others is infinite, whose authoritie is absolute,

The preroga-  
tive of my  
Lord of *Ley-*  
*cester*.



whose commaundm<sup>t</sup> is dreadfull, whose dislike is daun[gerous, &] whose fauour is omnipotent. And for his will, though it be seldome l[aw yet always] is his power aboue law, and therfor we Lawiers in all cases brought [unto us, have as] great regarde to his inclinacō, as Astronoms haue to the planets [dominant, or as] seamen haue to the North Pole.

For as they y<sup>t</sup> saile do direct their course, according to the s[ituation and direction of] that starr w<sup>th</sup> guideth them at y<sup>e</sup> Pole, and as Astronoms [who make prognostications,] do fortell things to come, according to y<sup>e</sup> aspect of y<sup>e</sup> planets [dominant, as bearing] rule for y<sup>e</sup> time: so we do guide our clients barke, and do p[rognosticate which is like to ensue] of his cause, by the aspect and inclinacon of my Lord [of *Leycester*. And for that reason, as] soone as euer we heere a case ppounded, our custome is to ask, what part my Lord of *Leycester* is like] to fauour in y<sup>e</sup> matter (for in all matters likely of any importance, he hath [a part] for what may be gathered] of his inclinacon therin: [and according to that we give a ghesse, more or less, what end will ensue. But this (my Masters) is from the purpose: and therefore returning to your former speech again, I do say, that albeit I was not privy before to the particular provisions of my Lord and his friends, in such and such places: yet feeling him accompted Lord general over all the whole Realme, and to have at his commandment, all these several commodities and forces pertaining to her Majesty which you have mentioned before, and so many more as be in the Realme, and mentioned by you (for in fine, he hath all:) I could not but accompt him (as he is) a]

*Leycester*  
the Starre  
directory to  
Lawyers in  
their clients  
affaires.

MS. Folio 71.

Potent Prince of our state, for all furniture needfull [to defence or offence] or rather the onelie Monarch of our nobilitie, who hath suf[ficient for himself] to plunge his Prince, if he should be discontented, espec[ially for his aboun]daunce of monie, (w<sup>ch</sup>, by y<sup>e</sup> wise, is tearmed the sinewes of m[artiall actions where] in by all mens iudgm<sup>ts</sup>, he is better furnished at this daie, then [any other subiect] of our land, either hath ben heretofore, or lightlie maie be [hereafter, both for] banckes w<sup>th</sup>out the Realme, and stuffed coffers w<sup>th</sup>in. Insom[uch that being my] self in y<sup>e</sup> last Parliam<sup>t</sup>, when the matter was moued, for y<sup>e</sup> [grant of a subsi]die, after y<sup>t</sup>, one for her Ma<sup>ties</sup> counsell had giuen verie good reasons, [why her high]nes was in want of money, & consequentlie needed y<sup>e</sup> assist[ance of her] faithfull subiects therein, another y<sup>t</sup> satt next me of good accou[pt said in mine] eare secreatlie: theise reasons I do allow, and am content [ed to give my part] in money: but yett, for her Ma<sup>ties</sup> neede, I could make aunsw[er as one answe-] red once the Emperor *Tiberius* in y<sup>e</sup> like case and cause: [*Abunde ei pecuniam*] fore si a liberto suo in societatem reciperetur: y<sup>t</sup> her Ma<sup>tie</sup> shou[ld have money] enoughe, yf one of her servaunts would voutsalfe to make [her highness par]take w<sup>th</sup> him: meaning therbie my Lo: of *Ley*., whose treasor[re] must needes be greater than y<sup>t</sup> of her Ma<sup>tie</sup>: for y<sup>t</sup> he laieth [up whatsoever he] geteth, & his expence he casteth vpon y<sup>e</sup> purse of his Princes.

*Leycesters*  
furniture in  
money.

The saying of  
a Knight of  
the Shire  
touching  
*Leycesters*  
money.

For y<sup>t</sup> (said y<sup>e</sup> Gent) whether he doe or no, it importeth little to the matter: seeing both] y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> he spendeth, and y<sup>t</sup> he hordeth, is truelie & pperlie his Princes [Treasure: and] seing he hath so manie and dius waies of gaining, w<sup>t</sup> should he make acco[mpt of his] owne priuate expence? If he laie out one for a thousand, w<sup>t</sup> can that make [him

*Gentleman.*

The infinite  
wayes of  
gaining that  
*Leycester* hath.

the] poorer? he y<sup>t</sup> hath so goodlie landes, possessios seigniouries and rich offices [of his own,] as he is knowen to haue: he that <sup>hath</sup> so especial fauour and au<sup>t</sup>horitie [with the prince,] as he can obtaine w<sup>t</sup>soeu he liketh to demaunde: he y<sup>t</sup> hath his parte & [portion in] all suites besides, y<sup>t</sup> passe by grace or else (for y<sup>e</sup> most pte) are ended by Lands. L[aw: he] maie chopp and chaunge w<sup>t</sup> landes he listeth w<sup>th</sup> her Ma<sup>tie</sup>, dispoile the[m of all their] woodes & other commodities, & racke them afterwarde to the vttermost [penny], & then returne y<sup>e</sup> same, so tenterstretched & bare shorne, into her Ma<sup>tie</sup> [hands agine,] by freshe exchaunge, rent for rent, for other landes neu inhaused Licenses. before: [he that] possesseth so manie gainefull licenses to himselfe alone of wine, oiles, c[urrants,] cloth, veluetts, w<sup>th</sup> his new office for licence of alienacon, most pricious to y<sup>e</sup> commonwelth, as he vseth the same, w<sup>th</sup> manie other y<sup>e</sup> like, w<sup>ch</sup> were [sufficient] to enrich whole townes, corporacons, countries, and commowelths: he [that hath] y<sup>e</sup> arte to make gainefull to himselfe euerie offence, displeasure & f[alling out] of her Ma<sup>tie</sup> w<sup>th</sup> him, and euie aungrie countenaunce cast upon him: [he that hath] his share in all Offices. offices of great pfitt and holdeth an absolute Monopolie [of the same:] he that dis- Cleargy. poseth at his will y<sup>e</sup> Ecclesiastical liuings of the Realme, may[keth Bishops, none,] new but such as will do reason, or of his chaplens whom he lifteth, & re[taineth to himself somuch of the liuing as liketh him best: he y<sup>t</sup> swepeth awaiey [the glebe from so] manie benefices throughout the land & compoundeth w<sup>th</sup> the pson for [the rest. Benefices. Vniversity. Hee that so] scoureth y<sup>e</sup> Uniusities & Colledges where he is chauncello<sup>r</sup>, & selleth [both headships] and schollo<sup>rs</sup> places, & all other offices, Roomes & dignities, y<sup>t</sup> by art or [violence can yee]ld money: he y<sup>t</sup> maketh title to w<sup>t</sup> land or other things he ple[ase and driveth the parties to] compoude for the same: he that takith in whole Forrests Oppressions. Rapines. C[ommons, Woodes, and Pastures to] himself, compelling the Tenaunts to paie him now re[nt and what hee cesseth: he that v]exeth and oppresseth whomsoeu he list, and maketh his [owne claim, sute, and end as] he list: he y<sup>t</sup> selleth his fauour w<sup>th</sup> his Prince, [both abroad in forraine countries, and] at home, and setteth y<sup>e</sup> price thereof w<sup>t</sup> himself [will demand: hee that hath and doth] all this, & besides all this, hath Presents. infinite presents [dayly brought unto him of great valew, both] in Jewells, Plate, all kinde of Furniture [and ready coine: this man (I say) may easily] beare his owne expences, [and yet lay up sufficiently also to weary his Prince when needs shall r[equire.

Lawyer. You have said much Sir, (quoth the Lawyer) and such matter as toucheth neerly both her Majesty and the Common-wealth: and yet in my conscience if I were to plead at the barre for my Lord: I could not tell which of all these members to deny. But for that which you mention in the last part, of his gain-  
 Leycesters home-gaine by her Majesties favour. ing by her Majesties favour, both at home and abroad: touching his home gain it is evident, seeing all that he hath is gotten onely by the opinion of her Majes- ties favour towards him: and many men do repair unto him, with fat presents]

MS. Folio. 72.

rather] for that they suppose, he maie by his fauour doe them hurt if he [feele no]t their rewarde, then for y<sup>t</sup> they hope he will labour a [nythi]ng in their affaires.

A pretty story.

You remember (I doubt not) the storie of him, y<sup>t</sup> offred his Prince a great yearly rent, to haue but his fauour onelie, y<sup>t</sup> he might come euerie daie in open audiece, to saie in his eare God saue yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup>, assvring himself, that by y<sup>e</sup> opinion of confidence

and secreatt fauour, w<sup>ch</sup> hereby y<sup>e</sup> people would conceiue to be in y<sup>e</sup> Prince, towards him, he should, easelie gett vp his rent againe doble told. Wherfor my Lo: *Ley*: receyuing dailie from her Ma<sup>tie</sup> greater tokens of grace and fauour then [t]his, & himself being no euill mchaunt, to make his owne bargaine for y<sup>e</sup> best of his commoditie: cannot but gaine exceedinglie at home by his fauours.

And for his Lucre abroad vpon the same cause, I leaue to other men to conceiue, w<sup>t</sup> it maie be, sithence <sup>ye begininge of</sup> her Ma<sup>ts</sup> Raigne, the times wherof and condicon of all Christendome hath ben such, as all y<sup>e</sup> Princes and Potentates round about vs, haue ben constrained at one time or other, to sue to her highnes for aide, grace, [or] fauour: in all w<sup>ch</sup> suites men vse not to forgett (as yo<sup>u</sup> knowe) the pties most able by their credit, to further or lett y<sup>e</sup> same.

*Leycesters*  
forraine gain  
by her Ma-  
jesties fauour.

In pticuler onelie this I can saie, that I haue heard of sundrie *Frenchmen* y<sup>t</sup> at such time as the treatie was betweene *Fraunce & England*, for y<sup>e</sup> redeliuie of *Callis*, vnto vs againe, in the first yeare of her Ma<sup>ts</sup> raigne y<sup>t</sup> now is, when the *Frenchmen* were in great distresse and miserie, and King *Phillip* refused absolutlie to make peace w<sup>th</sup> them, except *Callis* were restored to *England* (whether for y<sup>t</sup> purpose he had now deliuered the *French* hostages) y<sup>e</sup> *Frenchmen* do reporte (I saie) y<sup>t</sup> my Lo: of *Ley*: stode them in great steede at that necessitie for his reward, (w<sup>ch</sup> yo<sup>u</sup> maie imagine was not small, for a thinge), y<sup>t</sup> peace might be concluded, w<sup>th</sup> the release of *Callis* to the *French*: w<sup>ch</sup> was one of the most impious facts, (to saie the truth), y<sup>t</sup> eu could be deuised against this Commowelth. A smalle matter in him (sd y<sup>e</sup> Gent) for in this he did no more, but as *Christ* said of the *Jewes*, y<sup>t</sup> they filled vp the measure of his Fathers sinnes. And so if yo<sup>u</sup> read the storie of King *Edward's* times, yo<sup>u</sup> shall finde it most euident, y<sup>t</sup> this mans father before him sold *Bullein* to the *French* by like treacherie. For it was deliud up vpon condicon, w<sup>th</sup>out necessitie or reason, y<sup>e</sup> xxvth of *Aprill* in the 4 yeare of K. *Ed*: 6, when he (I meane Duke *Dudley*) had now put in y<sup>e</sup> Tower y<sup>e</sup> Lo: *Pro*: and thrust out of the counsell whom he listed: as namelie the E<sup>s</sup> of *Ar*: and *South* [and] so inuaded the whole govern<sup>t</sup> himself, to sell, spoile and dispose at his ple[asure.] Wherfor this is but naturall to my Lo: of *Ley*: by descent, to make mch[andize] of the state, for his Grandfather *Edm*: also, was such a kinde of copesma[n]. An euill race of Marchaunts for y<sup>e</sup> Commowelth (quoth y<sup>e</sup> Lawier) but [yet, Sir, I] pray yo<sup>u</sup> (sd he) expounde vnto me somew<sup>t</sup> more at lardg y<sup>e</sup> nature of [these licences] w<sup>ch</sup> yo<sup>u</sup> named, as also of chaunging of lands w<sup>th</sup> her Ma<sup>tie</sup>, if yo<sup>u</sup> sett [it downe any] plainielier: for they seeme to be things of excessiue gaine: espec[ally his way] of gaining by offending her Ma<sup>tie</sup>, or by her hyghnes offence [toward him, for it seemeth to be a devise, aboue all skill or reason.

*Leycesters*  
bribe for  
betraying of  
*Callis*.

Gentleman.

*Leycesters*  
Father sould  
*Bulloigne*.

Earles of  
*Arundel* and  
*Southampton*  
put out of the  
Councell by  
D. *Dudley*.

Lawyer.

Not so (quoth the Gent) for yo<sup>u</sup> know that euie falling out must [have an attonment] againe, whereof he being sure by the manie and puissant [meanes of his friends in Couart, as I have shewed before, who shall not giue her Ma<sup>tie</sup> [rest until it be done: then for] this attonem<sup>t</sup>, and in pfect reconciliacon on her Ma<sup>ts</sup> [part, she must grant my Lord, some] suite or other, w<sup>ch</sup> he will haue alwaies ready [provided for that purpose, & this] shalbe well able to rewarde his ffrends, y<sup>t</sup> [laboured for his reconcilment & leave also] a good remainder, for himself. And [this is now so ordinary a practice with him as all the Realm observeth the same and disdaineth that her Majesty should be so unworthily abused. For if her highness fall not out with him as]

*Leycesters*  
gaine by fall-  
ing out with  
her Majesty.

[often as he desireth to gain this way, then he picketh some quarrel or other, to show himself discontenteth with her, so that one way or other, this gainful reconciliation must be maid, and that often for his commodity. The like art he exercises in inviting her Majesty to his banquets and to his houses, where if she come, she must grant him in suits, ten times so much as the charge of all amount unto: So that *Robin* playeth the Broker in all his affaires, and maketh the uttermost penny of her Majesty every way.]

MS. Folio 73.

Gentleman.

Now for his chaunge of lands, I thinke I haue ben reasonable plaine [before: yet for your] fuller satisfaccon, yo<sup>u</sup> shall vnderstande his further dealing therein, [to be in this sort.] Besides the good landes, & of auncient possession to the crowne, pcured at her [Majesty's hand, and] vsed as before was declared: he vseth the same tricke for his worst landes, [that he possesseth] anie waie, whether they come to him, by extort meanes & plaine oppre[ssion, or through] maintenance of broken titles, or by coosinage of simple gent to make him their [heir or by] w<sup>t</sup> hard title or vnhonest meanes soeū & for he practiseth score of such and [thinketh little] of y<sup>e</sup> reckoning, after he hath tried them likewise to the vttermost touch, & lefte [them out] to such as shall gaine but little by the bargayne: then goeth he and chaunges [the same] w<sup>th</sup> her Ma<sup>tie</sup> for y<sup>e</sup> best lande he can picke out of the Crowne, to the ende he [thereby] may both enforce her Ma<sup>tie</sup> to the defence of his bad titles, and himself free [his coffers with] the fynes & vttermost commoditie of both the lands.

Leycesters  
fraudulent  
change of  
lands with  
her Majesty  
whereby hee  
hath notably  
endamaged  
the Crowne.

Leycesters  
licenses.

His licenses do stand thus: ffirst he gott license for a<sup>certen</sup> great number of c[loaths, to be] transported out of y<sup>e</sup> land, w<sup>ch</sup> might haue ben an vndoing to the mcha[nt subjects, if] they had not redeemed the same w<sup>th</sup> great somes of money: so y<sup>t</sup> <sup>it</sup>redo[n]ded to great] damage of all y<sup>t</sup> occupied about that kind of commoditie. After that he had [the grant] for carieng oū of barrell staues & of some other such like wares. Then [procured he] a monopolie, for bringing in of sweet wines, oiles, currants, & the like: y<sup>e</sup> [gain whereof] is inestimable. He had also the forfeites of <sup>all</sup> wines to be drawne aboute the ord[inary price,] w<sup>th</sup> licence to giue au<sup>th</sup>oritie to sell aboute that price wherein Cap<sup>en</sup> *Hersey* [was his in]strum<sup>t</sup>, by w<sup>th</sup> meanes it is incredible w<sup>t</sup> treasure and yearlie rent was [gathered] of y<sup>e</sup> Vyntners throughout the lande.

Silkes and  
Velvets.The Tyran-  
nicall licence  
of alienation.

To this ad now his license of silkes, and veluetts, w<sup>ch</sup> onelie were enough to [enrich the] Maior and Alderman of *London*, if they were all decayed (as I haue often heard diuse mchaunts affirme.) And his Licence of alienacon of landes, w<sup>ch</sup> (as [in part] I haue opened before) serveth him not onelie to excessiue gaine, but also for an [extreme] scourge wherw<sup>th</sup> to plague whom he please in the Realme. For seing that w<sup>th</sup>out [this] license, no man can buie sell, passe or alienate, any lande that any wayes [may be] drawn to y<sup>t</sup> teno<sup>r</sup>, as holden in cheife of y<sup>e</sup> Prince (as commonlie now [most land] may) w<sup>t</sup> he calleth into question w<sup>t</sup>soeu liketh him best, be it neu so <sup>cleare</sup> <sub>cl</sub>: [and under] thys couler, not onelie enrycheth hymself w<sup>th</sup>out all measure, but re[vengeth] himself shall so, where he will, w<sup>th</sup>out all order.

Lawyer.

Heere the Lawier stode still a prettie while, byting his lipp, as he were a[stonished,] & then said; Verely I haue not heard so manie & so apparant things [or so odious,] of any man that euer liued in our commōwelth. And I mveile much

of [my Lord *Leycester*, that his Graundfather's fortune doth not moue him much, who lost his head [in the] begining of *H: 8*: dayes, for much lesse and fewer offences, in the same kynde, [committed in] the tyme of *H: 7*: for he was thought to be y<sup>e</sup> inventor of y<sup>e</sup> pollings & mo [lestation, where] w<sup>th</sup> the people were burthened, in the latter daies of the said *K*: And [yet had he] grate ptence of reason to alledge for himself: in y<sup>t</sup> those exacons [were made to the King's] vse, & not to his, (albeit no doubt) but his oune gayne was also therin. [Master *Stowe* writeth] in his Chronicle, y<sup>t</sup> in the time of his imprisonm<sup>t</sup> in the Tower, he [wrote a notable] booke, intituled *The Tree of Commō welth*, w<sup>ch</sup> booke, the sd *Stowe* [saith, that he hath delivered] to my Lo: of *Ley*: manie yeares agoe. And if the sd booke [be so notable as M<sup>st</sup> *Stowe*] affirmeth, I mveile, whie his Lo: in so many yeares, [doth not publish the same, for] the glorie of his auncestors?

*Edmund Dudley.*

*Edmund Dudley's booke written in the Tower.*

It may be (said the Gentleman) that] y<sup>t</sup> secretts therein conteyned, be such, as [it seemeth good to my Lord, to use them only] hymselfe, & to gather the fruite of [that tree into his owne house alone. For if the tree of] y<sup>t</sup> Commō in *Edm: Dudley's* [book, be the Prince] and his race: and the fruits to be gathered from that tree, be riches, honours, dignities, and preferments: then no doubt, that as the writer *Edmund* was cunning therein: so have his two followers, *John* and *Robert*, well studied and practised the same, or rather have exceeded and far passed the author himself. The one of them gathering so eagerly, and with such vehemency, as he was like to have broken down the main boughs for greediness: the other yet plucking and keeping so fast to himself and his friends, as it is]

*Gentleman.*

MS. Folio 74.

and may be, most justlye doubted, that when they haue cropped all the sap [from] the tree lefte them by their Father *Edmud* (I meane the race of *K: H: 7*:) then will [they plucke vp the stemm it self, by the rootes, as vnppfitable; and pitch in his place [another *Fruncke*, (y<sup>t</sup> is the lyne of *Hunt*:) y<sup>t</sup> may beginne to feede againe anew w<sup>th</sup> [fre] sh fruites againe, & so for a time content their appetites, vntill of gatherers [they] may become trees, (w<sup>ch</sup> is their finall purpose) to feede themselues at their disc[retion].

The supplanting of the race of *Henry* the 7. The inserting of *Huntington*.

And howsoeu this be, it cannot be denied, but that *Edmud Dudley's* broode, haue learned by this booke and by others meanes to be more cuning gatherers, then eū their fyrst pgenito<sup>r</sup> was y<sup>t</sup> made the booke. First for y<sup>t</sup> he made pfessiō to gather to his Prince [(tho]ugh wickedlie) & those men make demonstracon, y<sup>t</sup> y haue gathered for themsel<sup>u</sup>: [and] y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>th</sup> much more iniquitie. Secondlie, for that *Edmud Dudley* thoughe he gott himself neere about the tree, yett was he content to stand on the ground, & to serve himself from the tree, as commoditie was offred, but his children not esteeming y<sup>t</sup> selfe gathering will needes mount alofte vpon the tree to pull crop and ryffle at their pleasure. And as in this second point the Sonne *John Dudley* was mo<sup>re</sup> subtle than *Edmud* the Father: so in a third point the Nephew *Robt Dudley* is more craftie then they both. For y<sup>t</sup> he seeing the euill successe of those two y<sup>t</sup> went before him, he hath pvided to gather so much in conuenient time & to make himself therw<sup>th</sup> so fatt and strong (wherin the other two failed) as he will neū be in daunger more, to be called to account for the same.

*Edmund Dudley's broode more cunning then himselfe.*

*Northumberland and Leycester with their Prince will not bee ruled.*

In good faith S<sup>r</sup> (quoth y<sup>e</sup> Lawier) I thanke yo<sup>u</sup> hartelie for this pleasaunt discourse vpon *Edmund Dudley's* tree of Commōwelth. And by yo<sup>t</sup> opinion of my Lo: of *Ley*:

*Lawyer.*

Gentleman.

Leycester  
Master of art  
and a cunning  
Logitioner.

Schollar.

Leycesters  
abusing and  
spoiling of  
Oxford.The Lord  
Treasurer.

Cambridge.

is y<sup>e</sup> most learned of all his kinred and a verie cunning Logitioner indeed, y<sup>t</sup> can draw for himself so commodious conclusions out of y<sup>e</sup> perillous pmisses of his pgenito<sup>rs</sup>. No mveile (quoth y<sup>e</sup> Gent) for y<sup>t</sup> his Lo: is M<sup>r</sup> of Art in *Oxford*, & Chauncellor besides of the same Uniūstie, where he hath stoore (as yo<sup>u</sup> know) of manie fine witts & good Logitions, at his comaundem<sup>t</sup>: and where he learneth not onelie the rules and art of cunning: gathering but also y<sup>e</sup> verie practize (as I haue touched before) seing there is no one Colledge or other thing of comoditie w<sup>th</sup>in that place, where thence he hath not pulled, w<sup>soeū</sup> was possible to be gathered, eyther by art or violence. Touching *Oxford* (sd I) for y<sup>t</sup> I am an Uniūstie man myself, & haue both experience of *Cambridge*, & good acquaintaunce with diūse students of the other Uniūstie: [I] cann tell yo<sup>u</sup> enough, but infyne all tendeth to this conclusiō, y<sup>t</sup> by his Chancellorship, is cancelled almost all hope of god in that Uniūsatie: & by his ptecon, it is like soon [to] come to destruccon. And surelie yf there were no other, to declare the [odds and difference betwixt him, and o<sup>r</sup> Chauncello<sup>r</sup>, (whom he cannot beare, for y<sup>t</sup> euerie [way he seeth him, to passe him in all honor & vertue) it were sufficient to behold [the present state of y<sup>e</sup> two Uniūsitie, wherof they are heades and governors.

For our owne, I will not say much, least phaps I might seeme [partial: but let the thing] speake for itself. Consider y<sup>e</sup> fruite of y<sup>e</sup> Garden, and therbie y<sup>e</sup> may [judge of the gardner's diligence. Looke vpon the Bishopricks, Pastors<sup>ps</sup>, & Pulpitts in [England, & see whence] principallie they haue receyued their furniture for aduauncment of the Gospel. And] on the contrairie syde, Looke vpon the Seminaries of Papistry & Roome [& Rhems, upon the Colledge of Jesuists] and other companies of Papists beyonde the seas, [and see where hence they are especially] fraught. The Priests & Jhesuits heere ex[ecuted within the land, & other] eier in prison, or abroad in corners: [are they not all (in a manner) of the University? I speak not to] y<sup>e</sup> disgrace of [any good that remain there, or that have issued out thence unto the Lord's Vineyard: but for the most part there; of this our time have that not either gone beyond the seas, or left their place for discontentment in Religion, or else become serving-men, or followed the bare name of Law or Physic, without profiting greatly therein, or furthering the service of God's Church or their Commonwealth?]

[And whence (I pray you) ensueth all this, but by reason that the chief Governor thereof is an atheist himself, and uses the place only for gain and spoil? For here - hence it cometh, that all good order and discipline is dissolved in that place, the fervour of study extinguished:]

The disorders  
of Oxford by  
the wicked-  
nesse of their  
Chancellour.

MS. Folio 75.

y<sup>e</sup> publique Lectures abandoned (I meane of the more pte:) y<sup>e</sup> [Taverns and ordinary tables frequented: y<sup>e</sup> apparell of students growen monstrous: & [the statutes and good ordinances, both of y<sup>e</sup> Uniūsitie & of eūie Colledge & Hall, broken and [infringed by my] Lo: gied pleasure, w<sup>th</sup>out respect eyther of oath, custome, or reason [to the contrary.] Th<sup>e</sup> heades & offices are put in and out onelie at his discrecon, & y<sup>e</sup> [Schollers places] ther sold, or disposed by his lres, or by theise of his servaunts and followers: [nothing] can be had there, now, w<sup>th</sup>out money: it is as comon buyeing and selling [of places in that] Uniūstie, as of horses in *Smithfield*; wherby y<sup>e</sup> good & vertuous are [kept out, and com]panions thrust in, fitt to serue his Lo: afterward in all affaires

y<sup>t</sup> shall occurre.] And as for Leases of Farmes, Woodes, Pastures, Psonages, Benefices, [or the like, which] belonge anie waie to anie pte of the Uniūsitie, to lett or bestowe, theese, his Servaunts haue so fleeced, shorne, and scrapt alreadie, y<sup>t</sup> there remayneth, [little to feed] vpon hereafter : albeit he want not still his spies and intelligence [in that place,] to aduertize him from time to time, when any little new morsell is [offered. And the] Principall instrum<sup>ts</sup>, w<sup>ch</sup> for his purpose, he hath had there before [this, have been] two Phisicons *Balie* and *Culpep*, both knowen Papists, a little [while ago,] but now iust of Galens religiō, and so much y<sup>e</sup> fitter for my Lo : humor : [for his Lordship] doth alwaies covett, to be furnished w<sup>th</sup> certen chosen men about [him, for diverse] affaires : as these two Galenists for agents in the Uniūsitie : *Dee* & [Allen, two Atheists, for figuring & coniuring ; *Julio* the Italiā and *Lopas* y<sup>e</sup> Jew, [for poisoning, & for y<sup>e</sup> art of destroieng childe in womens bellies : *Vernies* for [murdering : *Digbies* for Baudes : and y<sup>e</sup> like in other occupacons w<sup>ch</sup> his Lo ? exercizeth. Wherfor to returne to the speach where we beganne : most cleare it is, [that my Lord of Ley : hath meanes to gaine and gather also by y<sup>e</sup> Uniusitie, as well as by [the country abroad. Wherin (as I am told) he beareth himself so absolute a Lo ; as if [he were their king, & not their chauncello<sup>r</sup> : Naie far more then, if he were [the general] and pticuler founder of all their Colledges & other houses of y<sup>e</sup> Uniūsitie : [no man] daring to contrarie or interrupt the least word or significacon of his [will, but] w<sup>th</sup> his extreame daunger : w<sup>ch</sup> is a pceeding more fitt for *Phalaris* [the Tyrant,] or some Gouvernor in *Tartarie*, then for a chauncello<sup>r</sup> of a learn'd [Universitie.]

Leases.

Leycesters instruments.

At Digbies house in Warwickshire Dame Lettice lay, and some other such peeces of pleasure.

Lawyer.

The perill of standing with Leycester in any thing.

Poore men resisting Warwicks inclosure at North-hall were hanged for his pleasure by Leycesters authority. Gentleman.

Great Tyranny.

To this aunswered the Lawier, for my Lo : wrath, towardes such as will not [stand to] his judgm<sup>t</sup> & opinion, I can my selfe be a sufficient witnes : who hauing [had often] occasiō to deale for compositiō of matters, betwixt his Lo : and others, haue [seen by] experience, y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> alwaies haue sped best, who stood least in contention [with him,] w<sup>t</sup> soeū their cause were. For as a great & violent river, y<sup>e</sup> more it is [stopped or] contraried, y<sup>e</sup> more it *swelleth* & riseth bigg, & in y<sup>e</sup> ende, deiecteth w<sup>th</sup> [more force] the thing y<sup>t</sup> made resistaunce : so his Lo : being the great and mightie Po[tentate of] this Realme, & accustomed now to haue his will in all things, cannot bear [to be crossed] or resisted by any man, thoughe it were in his owne necessarie [defence. Thereof] I haue seen examples, in the causes of *Snowden* forrest in *Wales*, of [Denbigh, of Killing] worth, of *Drouton* and others : where y<sup>e</sup> pties y<sup>t</sup> had interest, or th[ought themselves] wronged, had ben happie, if they had yelded them selues at first to his [Lordship's pleasure, without fu]rther questiō : for then they had escaped much trouble, pl char[ges, displeasure, and vex]atio, w<sup>ch</sup> by resistaunce they incurred, to their great ruine, [and loss of life to some, and in] y<sup>e</sup> ende were faine also to submitt themselues vnto his [will, with far worse conditions] then at first were offred vnto them, w<sup>ch</sup> thing indeed [was pittiful to behold, but yet] such is my Lo : disposicon.

A noble disposition (quoth the] Gent) y<sup>t</sup> I must giue him my coat [if he demand the same, and that quickly also, for fear lest I] stagger or make doub[t thereof, he compel me to yield both coat and doublet in penance of my stay. I have read of some such Tyrants abroad in the World. Marry their end was always in accordance with their life, as it is very like it will be also in this man, for that there is small hope of his amendment, and God passeth not over commonly such matters unpunished in this life, as well as in the life to come.]



[But I pray you Sir, seeing mention is now made of the former oppressions, so much talked of throughout the Realm, that you will take the pains, to explain the]

MS. Folio 76.

substan]ce therof vnto me : for albeit in generall, euerie man doth know y<sup>e</sup> same & in heart do det]est y<sup>e</sup> Tiraunie therof : yett we abroad in y<sup>e</sup> countrie, do not vnderstande it [so well and distinctly as] yo<sup>u</sup> y<sup>t</sup> be Lawiers, who haue seen and vnderstoode y<sup>e</sup> whole pcesse of y<sup>e</sup> same.

Lawyer.

The Lordship  
of Denbigh  
and Leycesters  
oppression  
used therein.

The ca]se of *Killingworth & Denbigh* (sd y<sup>e</sup> Lawier) are much a like in matter & maner of [proceeding] thoughe different in time, place and importaunce. For y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Lo<sup>p</sup>: of *Denbigh* [in No]rthwales being giuen vnto him by her Ma<sup>tie</sup> a great while agoe att y<sup>e</sup> begining of [his ris]ing (w<sup>ch</sup> is a Lo<sup>p</sup>: of singula<sup>r</sup> great importaunce in y<sup>t</sup> countrey, hauing (as I haue [heard]) well neare two hundred Gent freeholde<sup>rs</sup> to the same :) y<sup>e</sup> tenaunts of the place. [Consid]ering y<sup>e</sup> estate of things, and hauing learned, y<sup>e</sup> hungrie dispsicon of y<sup>e</sup> <sup>new</sup> Lo<sup>p</sup>: made [a common] purse of a 1000<sup>l</sup>, to pnt him w<sup>th</sup>all at his first entrance. W<sup>ch</sup> though he re[ceiv]ed (as he refuseth nothing) yett accompted he y<sup>t</sup> some of smale effect for satisfaccō of his appetite : & therfor applied himself, not onelie to make y<sup>e</sup> vttermost y<sup>t</sup> he could by this, and such like waies of comodities : but also would needes enforce y<sup>e</sup> freeholders, to [raise] their owne rent of the Lo<sup>p</sup>, from <sup>£250</sup> a yeare or therabouts (at w<sup>ch</sup> rate he [had] received y<sup>e</sup> same in guift from her Ma<sup>tie</sup>,) vnto 8 or 900<sup>l</sup> by y<sup>e</sup> yeare. For y<sup>t</sup> he had fōnd [out] (for sooth) an old record (as he said) wherby he could proue, y<sup>t</sup> in auncien<sup>t</sup> time long past, [the Lordship] had yelded somuch old rent ; & therfor he would now enforce the said tenants, to [make] up somuch againe vpon their Landes, w<sup>ch</sup> they thought was against all reason [for] them to doe : but my Lo<sup>p</sup>: pforce, would haue it so, & in y<sup>e</sup> ende compelled them to yeld [to his will to y<sup>e</sup> impouishing of all y<sup>e</sup> whole countrey about.

The manner  
of Killing-  
worth and  
Leycesters  
oppression  
there.

The like pceeding he vsed w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> tenants about *Killingworth*, where he receyuing y<sup>e</sup> sd [Lordship] and Castle from the Prince, in guift of 29<sup>l</sup> yearlie rent or therabouts, hath made [it] now better by 500 by y<sup>e</sup>: yeare : by an old record also founde by great fortune in y<sup>e</sup> hole [of a w]all as is given out ffor he hath, singular good lucke alwaies in finding out records [for] his purpose by vertue wherof, he hath taken from y<sup>e</sup> tennants, rounde about, their lands, Woodes, Pastures, & Commons, to make himself Parkes, Chases, & other commodies there [with, to the] subvsiō of many a good familiie, w<sup>ch</sup> was maintemed ther, before this deuourer set foot in the countrey.

The case of  
Snowden  
forest most  
pittifull.

But the matter of *Snowden Forrest*, doth passe all the rest, both for cuning and crueltie : y<sup>e</sup> tragedie wherof was this he had learned by his intelligencers abroad (wherof he hath great stoore in euerie part of the Realme) y<sup>t</sup> there was a goodlie auncient forrest in Nor<sup>th</sup> Wales, w<sup>ch</sup> hath almost infinite borders about y<sup>e</sup> same : for it lieth almost in the middest of y<sup>e</sup> countrey, begining at the hills of *Snowden* (wherof it hath his name) in *Carnaua* [nshire and reache]th euerie waie towards diūs shires. When my Lo<sup>p</sup>: hard of this he entred pntly [into the con]ceit of a great praie : & going to her Ma<sup>tie</sup> signified that her highnes was of [ten times] abusd by y<sup>e</sup> encroching of such as dwelt vpō her Forrests, w<sup>ch</sup> was necessarie to [be] restrained & therfor beseeched her Ma<sup>tie</sup>, to bestowe vpon him y<sup>e</sup> incrochm<sup>ts</sup> oneli, [which he should be] able to fynd out, vpon y<sup>e</sup> forrest of *Snowden* w<sup>ch</sup> was graunted.



And thervpon he chose out Comissione<sup>rs</sup> fitt for y<sup>e</sup> purpose, and sent them into *Wales* with the like Com]missiō as a certen Emperour was wont to giue his Maiestrates, when [they departed from him] to governe as *Suetonius* writeth: *scitis quid velim et quibus op[us habeo]*. You know what I wou]ld haue, and what I haue need of. W<sup>ch</sup> recomendacons, these [Commissioners taking to heart, o]mitted no dilligence in executing the same: and so going [into *Wales* by such means as] they used, of setting one man to accuse another; brought [quickly all the country round about in 3 or] 4 shires, in compasse of forrest ground: [and so entered upon the same for my Lord of *Leycester*]. When y<sup>e</sup> people were [amazed: and expected what order my Lord himself would take therein: his Lordship was] so farr of from [refusing any part of that, which his Commissioners had presented and offered him: as hee would yet further stretch the Forest beyond the Sea, into the Ile of *Anglesey*, and make that also within his compass and bounder.]

An old Tyrannical commission.

A ridiculous demonstration of excessive avarice.

[Which when the commonalty saw, and that they profited nothing, by their complaining and crying out of this Tyranny: they appointed to send some certaine number of themselves, to *London*, to make supplication to the Prince: and so they did: choosing out for that purpose a dozen Gentlemen, and many more of the Commons of the Countrey of *Llin*, to deall for the whole. Who comming to *London* and exhibiting a most humble supplication to her Majesty for redresse of their oppression: received an]

MS. Folio 77.

aunswere by y<sup>e</sup> pcurem<sup>t</sup> of my Lo: of *Ley*:, y<sup>t</sup> they should haue iustice if y<sup>e</sup> [commonalty would] returne home to their houses, & y<sup>e</sup> Gent remaine there to sollicite y<sup>e</sup> cause. W<sup>ch</sup> [as soon as they had] yelded vnto, y<sup>e</sup> Gent were all taken and cast into prisonn, & there kept for a g[reat space, and after] wardes were sent downe to *Ludlow*, (as y<sup>e</sup> place most eminent of all those coun[tries] there to weare] paps of peurie, and receiue other punishm<sup>ts</sup> of infamie, for ther complaining. [Which punishments not] w<sup>th</sup>standing, afterwardes vpon great suite of y<sup>e</sup> pties and their frends, were [turned into great] fines of money, w<sup>ch</sup> they were constreyned to paie, & yett besides to agree also [with my Lord of] *Leyc* for their owne landes, acknowledging y<sup>e</sup> same to be his, & so to buy it of him [again, where] by not onelie theise priuate Gent, but all y<sup>e</sup> whole countrey therby, was and is [(in a manner)] vtterlie vndone. And y<sup>e</sup> pticipacon of this iniurie, reacheth so farr and wyde, [and is so general in theise pties: as you shall scarce fynde a man that cometh from that coast, [who feeleth not the] smart thereof: being eyther impoūished, beggered, or ruinated therby. Wher[eby I assure you that] y<sup>e</sup> hatred of y<sup>t</sup> countrey, is so vniūsall and vehem<sup>t</sup> against my Lo: as I thinke [neve thing cre]ated by God, was so odious to y<sup>t</sup> Natiō, as y<sup>e</sup> verie name of my Lo: of *Ley*: is [which his Lordship well-]knowing, I doubt not, but y<sup>t</sup> he will take heed how, he goe thether to dwell, [or send thither] his posteritie.

A singular oppression.

*Leycester* extremely hated in *Wales*.

Gentleman.

For his posteritie (quothe the Gent) I suppose he hath little cause to be sollicitous: for that God] himself taketh care commonlie, y<sup>t</sup> goods and honors so gotten and maintayned, as [his bee, shall] neuer trouble y<sup>e</sup> third heire. Marie for himself, I confesse (y<sup>e</sup> matter standing [as you say] that] he hath reason to forbear y<sup>e</sup> countrey, & to leaue of his building begonne at *Denb[igh]*, as I] heare saie he hath donne. For y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> vniūsall hatrad of a people, is a pllous [matter. And] if I were in his Lo: case,

The end of Tyrants.

Nero.

I would often thinke vpon y<sup>e</sup> ende of *Nero*, who after [all his glory,] vpon furie of y<sup>e</sup> people was adiudged to haue his heade thrust into a Pillorie, & so [to be beaten] to death, w<sup>th</sup> rodds and thongs.

Vitellius.

Or rather I should feare y<sup>e</sup> successe of *Vitellis* the third Empror after Nero, [who for his] wickednes and oppressiō of y<sup>e</sup> people, was taken by them at length, when ffortune [began to] faile him & ledd out of his pallace naked w<sup>th</sup> hookes of iron fastened in his flesh, [and so drawn] through y<sup>e</sup> cittie w<sup>th</sup> infamie where loaden in the streets w<sup>th</sup> filth and ordure c[ast upon on] & a pricke put vnder his chinn to y<sup>e</sup> ende he should not looke downe nor hide his face, [was] brought to the bancke of *Tiber* and there after manie woundes receyued was cast in y<sup>e</sup> riuer. So implacable is the furie of a multitude, when it is once stirred & hath revenge. And so heauie is the hande of God upon Tiraunts in this World, when it please [th His] diuine Ma<sup>tie</sup> to take reuenge of y<sup>e</sup> same.

A most terrible  
revenge  
taken upon a  
Tyrant.

I haue read in *Leander*, in his descriptiō of *Italie* how y<sup>t</sup> in *Spoieto* (if I be not deceived) y<sup>e</sup> chiefe cittie of y<sup>e</sup> cuntrey of *Vmbria* there was a straung Tyraunt : who in y<sup>e</sup> t[ime of his] prosperitie contemned all men, & forbear to iniure no man y<sup>t</sup> came w<sup>th</sup>in his [clawes] : esteeming himself sure enoughe, for eū being called to render accompt in this [life, and for] y<sup>e</sup> next he cared little. But God vpon y<sup>e</sup> sudden turned vpside downe y<sup>e</sup> wheele [of his feli]citie, & cast him into peoples handes : who tooke him and bound his naked body [upon a plank, in] the mkett place, w<sup>th</sup> a fier and iron tongs by him, & then made pclamacon y<sup>t</sup> seing [this man was] not otherwise able to make satisfaccon, for y<sup>e</sup> publique iniuries y<sup>t</sup> he had d[one : every private] person annoyed by him, should come in order and w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> hott burning ton[ges there ready, shou]ld take of his fleshe so much, as was correspondent to y<sup>e</sup> iniurie rece[ived, as indeed they did] vtill y<sup>e</sup> miserable man gaue vp y<sup>e</sup> ghost, & after to : as this [author writeth. But to the purpose] seeing my Lo : careth little for such examples, and is bec[ome so hardy now, as he maketh no] accompt to iniurie and oppresse whō countries & common[alities together : it shall be bootles to] speake of his pceedings towards pticculer men, who have [not so great strength to resist, as] a multitude hath. And yett I can assure yo<sup>u</sup>, [that there are so many and so pitiful things] published dailie of his Tirauny in this k[ind : as do move great compassion towards the party that do suffer, &] horror against him,<sup>who</sup>sham[eth not daily to offer such injury. As for example : whose heart would not bleed to] heare [the case before mentioned, of Master Robinson of Staffordshire : a proper young Gentleman, and well given both in Religion and virtues, whose Father died at Newhaven in her Majesty's service, under this mans brother the Earle of Warwick : and recommended at his death, this his eldest son, to the special protection of Leycester and his Brother, whose servant also this Robinson hath been, from his youth upward, and spent the most of his living in his service. Yet notwithstanding all this, when Robinsons lands were intangled with a certaine Londoner, upon interest for his former maintenance in their service, whose title my Lord of Leycester (though craftily, yet not covertly) under Ferris his cloak, had gotten to himselfe : hee]

Leycesters  
oppression of  
particular  
men.

Master  
Robinson.

MS. Folio 78.

ceased not to pursue y<sup>e</sup> sd gent euen to imprisonm<sup>t</sup>, arraignm<sup>t</sup>, and sentece of death, for greedines of y<sup>e</sup> sd liuing : together w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> vexacon of his brother in law [Master

*Harcourt* & all other his frends, vpon ptence, for sooth, y<sup>t</sup> there was a man slaine [by *Robinsons* ptie in defence of his owne possessios against *Ley*: intruders, y<sup>t</sup> would by violence breake into y<sup>e</sup> same.

Master  
*Harcourt*.

What] shall I speake of others, wherof there would be no ende? as of his dealing w<sup>th</sup> M<sup>r</sup> *Ric* [*hard Lee*] for his Manor of *Hooknorton* (yf I faile not of y<sup>e</sup> name: (w<sup>th</sup> M<sup>r</sup> *Lodow*: *Grevill*, [by] seeking to bereaue him of all his liuing at once, yf y<sup>e</sup> drafte had taken place? [With] *Georg Whitney*, in y<sup>e</sup> behalf of *H*: *Leigh*, for inforcing him to forgoe y<sup>e</sup> contro[ll] orsh<sup>p</sup> of *Woodstooke*, w<sup>ch</sup> he holdeth by patent from king *H*: 7? W<sup>th</sup> my Lo: *Barklie* whom he enforced to yeld vp his lands to his brother *W*, w<sup>ch</sup> his auncestors had held quietlie for almost two hundred yeares together?

Master  
*Richard Lee*.  
*Ludowick*  
*Grivell*.  
*George Witney*.

Lord *Barkley*.

What] shall I saie of his intollerable Tyrauny vpō y<sup>e</sup> last Arch: of *Can*., for Dr: *Julio* [hi]s sake, & y<sup>t</sup> in so fowle a matter? vpon S<sup>r</sup> *John Trockmor<sup>ton</sup>*, whom he brought pittifullie to his graue before his time, by continuall vexacon, for a peece of faithfull seruice done by to his countrie, (to all y<sup>e</sup> line of <sup>K</sup>*H* against this mans Father in King *Edward* and Queene *Ma'* daies? Vpon diūse of y<sup>e</sup> Lands for one mans sake before menconed, y<sup>t</sup> offred to take *Killing: Castle*? vpon some of y<sup>e</sup> *Giffords*, and other for *Throckmortons* sake? (for y<sup>t</sup> is also his Lo disposicon, for one mans sakes whom he brok keth not, to plague a whole generacon, y<sup>t</sup> anie way ptaineth, or is allied to y<sup>e</sup> same:) His endles psecuting S<sup>r</sup> *Dew*: *Drew*., and manie other courtiers both men and women? All these (I saie) & manie other, who dailie suffer iniuries, rapines, & oppressios, through out y<sup>e</sup> Realme, w<sup>t</sup> should it auaille to name them in this place: seeing neither his Lo: careth anie thing for the same, neither the pties agreued are like to attaine anie y<sup>e</sup> least release of affliccon therby, but rather double oppressiō for their cōplaining.

Archbishop  
of *Canterbury*.  
Sir *Iohn*  
*Throgmarton*.

*Lane*.

*Gifford*.

Sir *Drew*  
*Drewry*.

Wherfor, to returne againe wherat we beganne, yo<sup>u</sup> see by this little, who, & how gret, & w<sup>t</sup> manner of man, my Lo: of *Ley*: is this daie in the state of *England*. You see & may gather in some pt, by y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> hath ben spoken, his welth<sup>his strength,</sup> his cuning<sup>&</sup> his disposicon; His welth is excessiue in all kind of riches for a priuate man, and must needes be much more, then anie bodie can lightlie imagine, for y<sup>e</sup> infinite waies he hath of gaine, so manie yeares together.

The present  
state of my  
Lord of  
*Leycester*.

*Leycesters*  
*Wealth*.

His Strength and power is irresistable, as hath ben shewed, both in chamber, court, counsell, & countrie. His cuning in plotting, & fortifieng y<sup>e</sup> same, both by Force & Fraude, by Mynes and countermyns, by Trenches, Bulwarkes, Flankers & by Friends, Enemies, Allies, Seruants, Creatures & Dependants, or any other [that may serve his turne: is verie rare<sup>&</sup> singuler. His disposicon to Crueltie, [Murder, Tre]son and Trauny: & by all theise to Supreame Soueraigntie ouer other: is made [evident &] cleare. And then iudge yo<sup>u</sup> whether her Ma<sup>ties</sup> y<sup>t</sup> now raigneth (whose life may, ye Lo: in mcie long pserue) haue not iust cause to feare, in respect [to these things onelie: if there were no other pticulers to proue his aspiring intent [beside?

*Leycesters*  
*Strength*.  
*Leycesters*  
*Cunning*.

*Leycesters*  
*disposition*.

No doubt (quoth y<sup>e</sup> Lawer) but theise are great matters, in y<sup>e</sup> question [of such a cause] as is a crowne. And we haue seene by example, y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> least of these [four, which you] haue heere named, or rather some little braunch contained in [any of them, hath been sufficient] to ffound just suspicon, distrust or ielousie, in y<sup>e</sup> [heads of most wise Princes tow]arde the pceedings of more assured subiects, then my Lord [of *Leycester*, in reason may be pre]sumed to be. For y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> safetie of a state & Prince, sta[n]deth

Lawyer.

Causes of just  
feare for her  
Majesty.

not only in the readiness and ability] to resist open attempts, when they shall [fall out : but also (and that much more as Statutes] write in a certain prouident watch [fulness, of preventing all possibilities and likelihood of] daunger or suppressiō : for [that no Prince commonly, will put himself to the courtesy of another man (be he never so obliged) whether he shall retain his crown or no : seeing the cause of a Kingdom, acknowledgeth neither Kindreth, duty, faith, friendship, nor Society.

I know not whether I do expound or declare myself well or no, but my meaning is, that whereas every Prince hath two points of assurance from his subject, the one, in that he is faithful and lacketh will, to annoy his sovereign : the other, for that he is weak and wanteth ability, to do the same : the first is alway of more importance than the second, and consequently more to]

A point of necessary policy for a Prince.

MS. Folio 79.

be eyed and obserued in Pollicie : for y<sup>t</sup> our will maie be chaunged at once [pleasure but] not our abilitie.

Considering then, vpon y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> hath ben said & specified before, how y<sup>t</sup> my [Lord of *Leycester*, hath] possessed himself of all y<sup>e</sup> strength, powers and sinewes of y<sup>e</sup> Realme, hath [drawn all to] his owne direcon, and hath made his ptie so strong as it seemeth not [resistable : you have] great reason to saie, y<sup>t</sup> her Ma<sup>tie</sup> maie iustlie conceiue some doubt, for [that if his will were] according to his power, most assured it is, y<sup>t</sup> her Ma<sup>tie</sup> were not in safe [ty.

Schollar.

Saie not so, good S<sup>r</sup> (quoth I) for in such a case truelie, I would repose lit<sup>t</sup>le upon his will, which] is so manie waies apparaunt, to be most insa<sup>tia</sup>ble of ambitiō. Rather w[ould I think that] as yett his abilitie serueth not, either for time, place, or some other circumstan : [than that any] pt of good will should want in him : seing y<sup>t</sup> <sup>not</sup> onelie his desire of souerainty : [but also his] intent and attempt to aspire to y<sup>e</sup> same, is sufficientlie declared (in [my conceit] by] y<sup>e</sup> verie pticulers of his power & plotts alreadie sett downe. W<sup>ch</sup> yf yo<sup>u</sup> haue y<sup>e</sup> pacience to heare a Schollers argum<sup>t</sup>, I will proue by a Principle [of our Philosophy] For yf it be true as *Aristotle* saith, there is no agent so simple in y<sup>e</sup> [World, which worketh] not for some finale ende, (as y<sup>e</sup> bird buildeth not her nest but to dwell & he[tch her young ones] therein :) & not onelie y<sup>t</sup> : but also y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> same agent, doth alwaies frame his worke [according to the pportion of his intended ende : (as when the Fox or Badger maketh a wide [earth or denne], it is a signe y<sup>t</sup> he meaneth to draw thether great stoore of pray :) then [must we also in reason] thinke, y<sup>t</sup> so wise & polliticke an agent, as is my Lo : of *Ley* : for himself, [wanteth not] his ende in these plottings & pparations of his : I meane an ende p[portionable in] greatnes of his pparacons. W<sup>ch</sup> ende, can be no meaner nor lesse then Su[preme Sover]aigntie, seing his pūision and furniture do tend y<sup>t</sup> waie, & are in euie point [fully corr]esponden<sup>t</sup> to the same.

A philosophi-  
call argument  
to prove *Ley-*  
*cesters* intent of  
soveraignty.

The prepara-  
tions of *Ley-*  
*cester* declare  
his intended  
end.

W<sup>t</sup> meaneth his so dilligent beseiging of y<sup>e</sup> Princes psoun ? his taking vp y<sup>e</sup> [ways and] passages about her ? his insolencie in court ? his singularitie in counsel ? [his violent] pparacon of strength abroad ? his enriching of his Complices ? the band[ing of his fact] con, w<sup>th</sup> the aboundaunce of frends euiewhere ? W<sup>t</sup> do theise things signifie [(I say) and so] manie other, as yo<sup>u</sup> haue well noted & signified before : but onelie his

intent [and purpose] of Supmacie? W<sup>t</sup> did y<sup>e</sup> same things portende in times past in his Father, [but even that which] now y<sup>e</sup>y portende in the Sonne. Or how should we thinke, y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Sonne hath [no other meaning] in y<sup>e</sup> verie same accons, then had his Father before, him whose steppes he f[olloweth.] I remember I haue heard, oftentimes of diu auncient & graue men in C [ambridge, how] y<sup>t</sup> in K: *Ed*: dayes y<sup>e</sup> Duke of Northumberland this mans Father, was genallie [suspected] of all men, to meane indeed as after he shewed, especiallie when he had once [joined with] y<sup>e</sup> house of Suff; & made himself principall of y<sup>t</sup> faccon by marriadge. [But] y<sup>t</sup> he was potent, & ptested euiewhere and by all occasions his great loue, duty [and special] care, aboue all others, y<sup>t</sup> he boore towards his Prince & countrey no man durst [accuse him] openlie, vntill it was to late to w<sup>th</sup>stande his power: (as commonlie it falleth [out] in affaires) & y<sup>e</sup> like is euident in my Lo: of *Ley*: accons now (albeit to her Ma[jesty, I doubt not, but that he will ptende and pteste, as his Father did to her Brother) especiallie [now after his open] an associacon w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> faccon of *Huntig*: w<sup>ch</sup> no lesse impugneth vnder [this man's protection the] whole line of *H* 7 for right of y<sup>e</sup> crowne, then y<sup>e</sup> house of *Suff*: did [under his Father the parti]culer pgenie of K. *H*. 8:

How the Duke of Northumberland dissembled his end.

Nay rather mu]ch more (quoth y<sup>e</sup> Gent) for y<sup>t</sup> I do not reade in K: *Ed*: re[ign, (when the matter was in plotting] notw<sup>th</sup>standing) y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> house of *Suff*: durst eu make [open claim to the next succession. But now] y<sup>e</sup> house of *Hastings* is become so confident, [upon the strength and favour of their favours, that] they dare both plott, practize, and ptende, [all at once, and fear not to let out their title in] euie place whereat they come.

Gentleman.

The boldnes of the titles of Clarence.

And do they not fear the statute (said] y<sup>e</sup> Lawier) so rig[orous on this point, as it maketh the matter treason to determine of titles!

Lawyer.

No, they need not (quoth the Gentleman) seeing their party is so strong and terrible, as no man dare accuse them: seeing also they well know, that the procurement of that stature, was only to endanger or stop the mouths of the true Successors, whilst themselves, in the mean space, went about under-hand, to establish their own ambushment. Well, (quoth the Lawyer) for the pretence of my Lord of *Huntingdon* to the Crowne, I will not stand with you, for that it is a matter sufficiently known and seen through the Realm. As also that my Lord of *Leycester* is at this day, a principal faviourer and patron of that cause, albeit]

Gentleman.

The abuse of the statute for silence in the true succession.

Lawyer.

MS. Folio 80.

some years past, he were an adusarie an enemy to y<sup>e</sup> same. But yett haue I heard some frende of his, in reasoning of theise matters, denie stoutlie a point or two, w<sup>ch</sup> yo<sup>u</sup> haue touched heere, and do seeme to belieue y<sup>e</sup> same.

And y<sup>t</sup> is, first, y<sup>t</sup> howsoeu my Lo: of *Ley*: do meane to helpe his frend, when time shall serve, yett, ptendeth he nothing to the Crowne himself. Y<sup>e</sup> second is, that w<sup>t</sup>soeu maie be men<sup>t</sup> for y<sup>t</sup> tittle, or compassing y<sup>e</sup> Crowne after her Ma<sup>ts</sup> death, yett nothing is ptended during her Raigne. And of both theise points they alledge reasons.

Two excuses alleaded by Leycesters friends.

As for y<sup>e</sup> first, y<sup>t</sup> my Lo: of *Ley*: is verie well knowen, to haue no title to y<sup>e</sup> Crowne himself, eyther by descent in bloud, alliaunce or other waies. For y<sup>e</sup> second, y<sup>t</sup> his Lo<sup>p</sup>: hath no cause to be a Malcontent in y<sup>e</sup> present govern<sup>t</sup>, nor hope for more

pferm', if my Lo: of *Hunt*: were King to morrow next, then he receaueth now at her Ma<sup>ts</sup> handes: having all y<sup>e</sup> Realme (as hath ben shewed) at his owne disposicon.

Gentleman.  
Whether  
Leycester  
meane the  
Crowne sin-  
cerely for  
Huntington  
or for him-  
selfe.

For y<sup>e</sup> first (quoth y<sup>e</sup> Gent) whether he meanes y<sup>e</sup> Crowne for himself, or for his frend, it importeth not much: seing both waies it is euident, y<sup>t</sup> he meaneth to haue all at his owne disposicon. And albeit now for y<sup>e</sup> auoiding of envie, he gaue it out as a Craftie Fox, y<sup>t</sup> he meaneth not but to rune w<sup>th</sup> other men, & to hunt w<sup>th</sup> *Hunt*: and other hounds in y<sup>e</sup> same chase: yett it is <sup>not</sup> onlike, but y<sup>t</sup> he will plaie y<sup>e</sup> Beare, when he cometh to deuiding of y<sup>e</sup> praie, & will snatch y<sup>e</sup> best pt to himself. Yea and theise selfe same psons whom yo<sup>u</sup> call his frends, though in publicke to excuse his doings, & to cou y<sup>e</sup> whole plott, y<sup>ey</sup> will and must denie y<sup>t</sup> matters be so meant yett otherwaies they both thinke, hope & know y<sup>e</sup> contrarie, & will not stick in secreatt to speake it, and amongst theselues, it is their talke of consolacon.

The words  
of the Lord  
North, to  
Master Pooly.

The wordes of the speciall Counsellor y<sup>e</sup> Lo *North*, are knowen, w<sup>ch</sup> he spake to his trustie *Poolie*; vpon the receipt of a lre from Court, of her Ma<sup>ts</sup> displeasure towards him, fo his being a witnes at *Ley*: second marraidge w<sup>th</sup> dame *Lettice* (althoughe I knowe he was <sup>not</sup> ignoraunt of y<sup>e</sup> first) at *Wantstead*: of w<sup>ch</sup> displeasure, this Lo: making farr lesse account then, in reason he should, of y<sup>e</sup> iust offence of his souaigne, said y<sup>t</sup> for his owne pte he was resolued to sink or swim w<sup>th</sup> my Lo: of *Ley*: who (saith he) if once y<sup>e</sup> cardes maie come but to shuffling (I will vse but his owne verie words) I make no doubt but he alone shall beare awaie y<sup>e</sup> Bucklers;

Pooly told this  
to Sir Robert  
Iermine.

The words of  
Sir Thomas  
Layton bro-  
ther in law to  
my Lord.

The words also of S<sup>r</sup> *Tho*: *Leyton*, to S<sup>r</sup> *H*: *Nevill* <sup>walking vpo ye Terrese</sup> at *Windsore* are knowen, who told him, after long discourse of their happie conceyued Kingdome, y<sup>t</sup> he doubted [not but to see him one daie, hold y<sup>e</sup> same office in *Windsor*, of my Lo: of *Ley*: w<sup>ch</sup> now my Lo: did hold of y<sup>e</sup> Queene. Meaning therbie y<sup>e</sup> goodlie office of Constableshipp w<sup>th</sup> all rich [Royal] ties & hono<sup>rs</sup> belonging to the same, w<sup>ch</sup> now y<sup>e</sup> sd S<sup>r</sup> *Hen*: exerciseth onelie as Deputie to the Earle. W<sup>ch</sup> was plainelie to signifie, y<sup>t</sup> he doubted not but [to see my] Lo: of *Ley*: one daie King, or else his other hope could neū possibly take [effect or] come to passe.

The words  
of Mistresse  
Anne West  
sister unto  
this holy  
Countesse.

To y<sup>e</sup> same point, tended y<sup>e</sup> wordes <sup>of</sup> Mis *Anne West* Dame *Lettice* sister, [unto the La *Anne Askew* in y<sup>e</sup> great chamber vpon a daie when her brother [*Robert Knowles* had daunced disgraciouslie and skornfullie before y<sup>e</sup> Queene in [presence of the French. W<sup>ch</sup> thing for y<sup>t</sup> her Ma<sup>tie</sup> took to pceed of will in him, & for dislike of the [straungers in psence, & for y<sup>e</sup> Quarrell of his sister *Essex*; it pleased her h[ighness to check him for y<sup>e</sup> same, w<sup>th</sup> addicon of a reproachfull worde or to full [well deserved as tho'] donne for dispight of y<sup>e</sup> forced absence, from y<sup>t</sup> place of ho[nour, of the good old Gentlewoman (I] mittigate y<sup>e</sup> wordes) his Sister. W<sup>ch</sup> wordes y<sup>e</sup> other [younger twig receiving in de]epe dudgeon, brake forth in great choller to her [forenamed companion, and said, she no] thing doubted, but y<sup>t</sup> one daie she should see [her sister, upon which the Queen railed now so] much (for so it pleased her to term [her Majesties sharp speech) to sit in her place & throne,] being much [worthier of the same, for her qualities and rare virtues, then was the other. Which undutiful speech, albeit it were overheard and condemned of divers that set about them; yet none durst ever report the same to her Majesty; as I have heard sundry Councillors affirm, in respect of the revenge which the reporters should abide at my Lord of *Leycester's* hands whensoever the matter should come to light.]

And this is now concerning y<sup>e</sup> opiniō and secrett speeches of my Lord's [own friends, who] cannot but vtter their conceipt & iudgm<sup>t</sup> in tyme and place con[venient, whatsoever they] are willed to giue out publiquellie to y<sup>e</sup> contrarie, for deceiūig of such as will believe] faire painted wordes against evident and manifest demonstracon [of reason.]

I saie reason, for y<sup>t</sup> if none of theise signes & tokens were, none of these [preparations] nor anie of theise speeches & deteckons, by his frends y<sup>t</sup> know his hart: [yet in force of] plaine reason, I could alledge vnto yo<sup>u</sup> three argum<sup>ts</sup> onelie w<sup>ch</sup> to [any man of intelli]gence, would easilie pswade and giue satisfaccōn, y<sup>t</sup> my Lord of *Ley*: meaneth best and] first for himself in this suite. W<sup>ch</sup> three argum<sup>ts</sup> for y<sup>t</sup> yo<sup>u</sup> seeme to be attent. I will not] sticke to rune oū in all breuitie.

Three arguments of *Leycesters* meaning for himselfe before *Huntington*.

The first argument the Nature of ambition.

And y<sup>e</sup> fyrst is y<sup>e</sup> nature and quallitie of ambitiō it self, w<sup>ch</sup> is such [as you know that it neū staieth, but passeth from degree to degree, & y<sup>e</sup> more it obteyn]eth the more it coueteth & y<sup>e</sup> more it esteemeth it self both worthie & able to obtaine. [And in our matter] y<sup>t</sup> now we handle, even as in wooing, he y<sup>t</sup> sueth to a La: for another, & obt[aineth her] good will, entreth easilie into conceipt of his owne worthines therby, & so co[mmonly into] hope of speding himself, while he speaketh for his frend: somuch more in King[doms; he that] seeth himself of power to put y<sup>e</sup> crowne o<sup>r</sup> anothers mans heade, will quic[kly step to the] next degree w<sup>ch</sup> is, to sett<sup>it</sup> on his owne, seing y<sup>t</sup> alwaies y<sup>e</sup> charitie of such [good man, is] wont to be so orderlie, as (according to y<sup>e</sup> pcept<sup>s</sup>) it beginneth w<sup>th</sup> himself fyrst.

Add to this, that ambition is as suspitious, & fearefull of it self, especiallie [when it is] ioyned w<sup>th</sup> a conscience loden w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> guilt of manye crimes, wherof he would [be loath to] be called to account, or be subiect to any man y<sup>t</sup> might by aucthoritie take re[view of his] life and accōns, when it should please him. In w<sup>ch</sup> kynd, seing my Lo: of *Ley*: hath [so much to] increase his feare, as before hath ben showed by his wicked dealings: it is not, [that ever] he will putt himself to another mans courtesie, for passing his Auditt in pt[icular recko]nings, w<sup>ch</sup> he can nowaie aunswer or satisfie but rather will stand vpō y<sup>e</sup> g[ross Sum] & generall *Quietus est* by making himself cheif Auditor & M<sup>r</sup> of all accomp<sup>ts</sup> [for his own] pte in this life, howsoeū he do in the next: wherof such humo<sup>rs</sup> haue little reg[ard]. And] this is for y<sup>e</sup> nature of ambitiō in it selfe.

The second argument, *Leycesters* particular disposition.

*Leycesters* disposition to tamper for a Kingdome.

I meane the noble old Earle of *Pembrooke*.

The second argum<sup>t</sup> maie be taken from my Lo. pticuler disposicōn: w<sup>ch</sup> is su[ch, which may] giue much light also to the matter in questiō: being a disposicōn much liking [and inclined] to kingdome as it hath ben tampring about y<sup>e</sup> same, from y<sup>e</sup> first daie y<sup>t</sup> he [came into] favour. Fyrst by seeking openlie to marrie w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Queenes Ma<sup>tie</sup> her selfe & so [draw] y<sup>e</sup> crowne vpon his owne heade, and to his posteritie. Secondlie, when y<sup>t</sup> attem[pt took not] place, then he gaue it out, as hath ben showed before, y<sup>t</sup> he was privilie cont[racted to] her Ma<sup>tie</sup> (wherin as I told yo<sup>u</sup> his dealing before for satisfaccōn of a straunger, [so let him] w<sup>th</sup> shame and dishono<sup>r</sup> remember now also, y<sup>e</sup> spactacle he secrettly made [for the per]swading of a subiect and Counsellor of great honor in the same cause) to the [end that if her] Ma<sup>tie</sup> should by anie waie haue miscarried, then he might haue entitled [any one of his owne] broode (wherof he hath stoore in manie places as is knowen) to y<sup>e</sup> [lawful succession] of y<sup>e</sup> Crowne vnder couler of y<sup>t</sup> priuie and secreatt marriadge, [pretending the same to be] by her Ma<sup>tie</sup>: wherin he will want no witnes to depose w<sup>t</sup> he will.



The unduti-  
full devise of  
Naturall  
issue, in the  
statute of  
succession.

Thirdly] when he sais also y<sup>t</sup> this devise was subiect to daunger, for y<sup>t</sup> his [privy contract might be d]enied more easelie, then he able iustlie to proue the same a[fter her Majesty's decease: he had a] new fetch to strengthen y<sup>e</sup> matter y<sup>t</sup> & was to cause y<sup>e</sup> [words [of (*Natural issue*) to be put into] y<sup>e</sup> statute of successiō for y<sup>e</sup> Crowne, against all [order and custom of our Realme, and against] y<sup>e</sup> knowen commō stile of law, accustomed to be u[sed in statutes of such matter: whereby he migh]t be able after y<sup>t</sup> death of her Ma<sup>tie</sup> [to make legitimate to the Crown, any one bastard of his own] by any of so many h[acknies as he keepeth, affirming it to be the *Natural issue* of her Majesty by himself. For no other reason can be imagined why the ancient usual words of, *Lawful issue* should so cunningly be changed into *Natural issue*; Thereby not only to endanger our whole Realm with new quarrels of succession but also to touch (as far as in him lieth) the Royal honour of his Sovereign, who had been to him but too bountiful a Princes.]

[Fourthly, when after a time these fetches and devices, began to be discovered, he changed his course, and turned to the Papists, and Scottish faction, pretending the marriage of the Queen in prison. But yet after]

MS. Folio 82.

The marriage  
of *Arbella*.

this againe, finding therein not such successe as contented him throughlie, and hauing [in the] meane space new occasion offred of baite he betooke himself fittlie to y<sup>e</sup> ptie of *Hunt*: hauing [therein] (no doubt) as good meanig to himself, as his Father had by ioyning w<sup>th</sup> *Suffolke*. Marie yett of late, he hath cast, anew about, once againe, for himself in secreat, by treating y<sup>e</sup> marriadg [of you] ng *Arbella* w<sup>th</sup> his Sonne intituled y<sup>e</sup> Lo *Denbighe*. So y<sup>t</sup> by this disposicon of this man [bent wh] olie to a scepter. And albeit in right title and desent of bloud (as yo<sup>u</sup> saie) he can iustlie claime neither kingdome nor cottage (considering<sup>either</sup> the basenes or disloialtie of his Auncestes) yett in respect of his pnt state and power, & of his naturall pride, ambition, and craftie coneyaunce receyued from his Father: he hath learned how first to put himself in cheif rule, vnder other ptences, & after to deuise vppon y<sup>e</sup> title at his pleasure.

The third  
argument.  
The nature  
of the cause  
itself.

But now to come to the argum<sup>t</sup>: I saie more and aboue all y<sup>is</sup>, y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> nature and state of y<sup>e</sup> matter it selfe, pmitteth not, y<sup>t</sup> my Lo: of *Lei*: should meane sincerelie y<sup>e</sup> crowne for *Hunt*: speciallie seing there hath passed between them so manie yeares of dislike and enmitie: w<sup>ch</sup> albeit, for y<sup>e</sup> time & present commoditie, be covrd and pressed downe: yett by reason & experiēce we knowe, y<sup>t</sup> afterwarde when they shall deale together againe in matters of importance, & when iealousie shalbe ioyned to other circumstaunces of y<sup>eir</sup> accons: it is impossible y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> former dislike should not breake out in higher degrees, then euer before.

The nature  
of old recon-  
ciled enmity.

As we saw in y<sup>e</sup> examples of reconcialicon, made betwixt this mans Father and *Ed: D: of S* bearing rule vnder *K: E: 6:* & betweene *Ric: D: of Yo: & Ed: D: of Som:*, bearing rule in y<sup>e</sup> time of *K: H: 6:* Both w<sup>ch</sup> *Du: of Som*, after reconciacō w<sup>th</sup> their old, craftie & [amb]itious enemies, were brought by y<sup>e</sup> same to y<sup>e</sup> destraccon soone after. Wherof I doubt not, but my Lo: of *Ley*: will take good heede in ioyning by reconciliacon w<sup>th</sup> *Hunt*: after so long breach: & will not be so improuident, as to make him his Souaigne who now is but his dependant. He remembreth to well y<sup>e</sup> successe of y<sup>e</sup> Lo: *Stanley* (who helped *H. 7.* to y<sup>e</sup> crowne): of y<sup>e</sup> Duke of *Buck*: who



did y<sup>e</sup> same for Ryc y<sup>e</sup> 3, of y<sup>e</sup> Earle of *Warwicke*, who sett vp K: *Ed*: 4: and of y<sup>e</sup> 3 *Percies* who advaunced to y<sup>e</sup> Scepter K. *H*: 4. All w<sup>ch</sup> Noble men vpō occasions w<sup>ch</sup> after fell out were rewarded w<sup>th</sup> death, by the self same Princes, whom y<sup>ey</sup> had pferred.

And y<sup>t</sup> not w<sup>th</sup>out reason as Seigniō *Matchiauell* my Lo: Counsellor affirmeth. For y<sup>t</sup> such Prince afterwarde can neū giue sufficient satisfaccon to such frends, for so great a benefitt receaued. And consequentlie least vpon discontm<sup>t</sup>, they maie chaunce to do as much for others against them as they haue done for them against others: y<sup>e</sup> surest waie is to recompence them w<sup>th</sup> such a reward as they shall neū after be able to complaine of.

The reason of  
*Machavell*.

Wherfor I can neū thinke y<sup>t</sup> my Lo: of *Ley*: will putt himself in daunger of y<sup>e</sup> like success [at] *Hunt*: hands; but rather will follow y<sup>e</sup> plott of his owne Father w<sup>th</sup> the D. of *Suff*:, when [no doubt] but he meant onelie to vse for a ptext & helpe, wherbie to place himself in supream [dignity] & afterwards w<sup>soeū</sup> had befallen of y<sup>e</sup> State, y<sup>e</sup> other heade could neū haue come [to other] ende then it enioyed. For if *Q. Ma*: had not cutt it of K. *John* of *Northū*: would [have done] y<sup>e</sup> same in time, & so all men do well know, that were priue to anie of his [cunning dealings.] And w<sup>t</sup> *Hunt*: secrete opinion of *Ley*: is (notw<sup>th</sup>standing this outward show of [dependance] it was my chaunce to learne, from y<sup>e</sup> mouth of a speciall man of y<sup>t</sup> hasty [King who was] leidger or agen<sup>t</sup> in *London*; and at a time falling in talke of his M<sup>ts</sup> title, [declared that he had] heard him diūs times in secreatt, complaine to his La: (*Ley*: sister) [as greatly fearing] y<sup>t</sup> in y<sup>e</sup> ende, he would offer him wrong & ptende some title for himselfe.

The meaning  
of the Duke  
of *Northum-*  
*berland* with  
*Suffolke*.

South-house.

Well (quoth y<sup>e</sup> Lawier) it seemeth by this last pointe, y<sup>t</sup> theise two [Lords are cunning practioners in] y<sup>e</sup> art of dissimulacon: but for the former wherof yo<sup>a</sup> speak [in truth I have heard men of] good discourse affirme, y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Duke of *Northū*: had stra[n]ge devices in his head for deceiving] of *Suff*: (who was nothing so fine as himself) & for [bringing the crown to his own family.] And amongst other deuises it is thought, y<sup>t</sup> [he had most certain intention to marry the Lady] *Marie* himself, (after once he had br[ought her into his own hands) and to have bestowed her Majesty that now is upon some one of his [children (if he should have been thought best to give her life,) and so consequently to have shaken off *Suffolk* and his pedigree, with condign punishment, for his bold behaviour in that behalf.

Lawyer.

The meaning  
of the D. of  
*Northumber-*  
*land* towards  
the D. of  
*Suffolke*.

Verily (quoth I) this hath been an excellent stratageme, if it had taken place. But I pray you (Sir) how could he himself have taken the Lady *Mary* to wife, seeing he was already married to another? Oh (quoth the Gentleman) you question like a Schollar. As though my Lord of *Leycester* had not a wife alive]

Scholar.

Gentleman.

MS. Folio 83.

when he first begann to ptende marriadge to the Queenes Ma<sup>tie</sup>. Do yo<sup>a</sup> not [remember the story] of K. *R*: 3: who at such time as he thought best for establishing of his title: [to marry his own Neece, y<sup>t</sup> afterwards was married to K. *H*. 7., how he caused secreatlíe to [be given abroad] y<sup>t</sup> his owne wife was dead, whom all y<sup>e</sup> World knew then to be aliue and in good [health, but that yet] soone afterwarde she was soone dead indeed. Theise grea<sup>t</sup> psonages, in matters [of such weight] as is a Kingdome, haue priuiledges to dispose of Womens bodies, mariadge, l[ives and deaths] as shalbe thought for y<sup>e</sup> time most convenient.

The practice  
of King  
*Richard* for  
dispatching  
his Wife.

A new  
Triumvirat  
betweene  
Leycester,  
Talbot, and  
the old  
Countesse of  
Shrewsbury.

And w<sup>t</sup> do yo<sup>u</sup> thinke (I prairie you) of this new *Triumvirat* so latelie concluded [about *Arbella* ?] (for so must I call y<sup>e</sup> same, thoughe one of y<sup>e</sup> 3 psons be no *Vir* but *Virago*) [I mean of the] marriadge betweene yong *Denbigh* and y<sup>e</sup> little daughter of *Lenox*, wherby [the Father-in-Law,] y<sup>e</sup> Grandmother & y<sup>e</sup> Uncle of y<sup>e</sup> new designed Q. haue conceiued to themselves [a singular] triūphant raigne. But w<sup>t</sup> do yo<sup>u</sup> thinke maie ensue hereof? is there nothing [of the old plot] of Duke *John* of *Northub*: in this?

Lawyer.

Marrie S<sup>r</sup> (quoth y<sup>e</sup> laweier) if this be so, I dare assure yo<sup>u</sup> thers sequele enough pretendeth] hereby. And fyrst no doubt, but their goeth a deepe drift, by y<sup>e</sup> wife & sonne, aga[inst old *Abra*]ham (y<sup>e</sup> Husband & Father) w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> well lyned large pouch. And secondlie, a farr [deeper by] trustie *Robt* against his best M<sup>is</sup>: but deepest of all by y<sup>e</sup> whole crew, against [the designments] of y<sup>e</sup> hastie Earle: who thirsteth a Kingdome, w<sup>th</sup> great intemperu<sup>a</sup>nce, and see[meth (if there)] were plaine dealing) to hope by theise good people to quench shortlie his drought. [But either] pt in truth, seeketh to deceyue other & therfor it is hard to saie where y<sup>e</sup> gaine [in fine will rest.]

Huntington.

Gentleman.

The flights of  
Leycester for  
bringing all  
to himselfe.

Well<sup>how</sup> soeū y<sup>t</sup> be (quoth y<sup>e</sup> Gent) I am of opinion, y<sup>t</sup> my Lo: of *Ley*:, will vse both this p[ractice and] manie more, for bringing y<sup>e</sup> Scepter finallie to his owne heade: & y<sup>t</sup> he will not [only imploy] *Hunt*: to defeate *Scotland*, & *Arbella* to defeat *Hunt*: but also would vse y<sup>e</sup> marr[iage of the] Q. imprisoned, to defeate them both, if she were in his hande: and anyone of all th[ree to dis]possesse her Ma<sup>tie</sup> y<sup>t</sup> now is: as also the aucthoritie, of all fower to bring it to him[self: with] manie other fetches, flings, and friscoes, besides, w<sup>th</sup> simple men do not as yett [conceive.] And howsoeuer these two conioyned Earles, as seeme for y<sup>e</sup> time to draw together, [and to play] bootie: yett am I, of opinion, that the one will beguile, the other at the vpshott. And [*Hastings* for ought I see, when he cometh to the stancling, is like to haue no better lucke [by the Beare,] then his Auncesto<sup>r</sup> once had by the Bore. Who vsing his helpe first in murthering [the Son and] Heire of K: *H*: 6, and after in destroieng the faithfull Friends & kinsmen of *Ed*. 5, for [his easier] waie to vsurpacon: made an ende of him also in the Tower, at the verie same date [and hour,] y<sup>t</sup> the other were by his counsell destroyed in *Pomfrett Castle*. So y<sup>t</sup> where y<sup>e</sup> [Goale and] price of the game is a Kingdome: there is neyther faith, nor good fellowshippe, [nor fair] plaie amongst y<sup>e</sup> *Gamsters*. And this shall be enoughe for y<sup>e</sup> first pointe: (*viz*) [what good my Lord] of *Ley*: meaneth to himselfe in respect of *Hunt*. Touching y<sup>e</sup> second, [whether the attempt] y<sup>t</sup> be purposed in her Ma<sup>ties</sup> dayes or no, the matter is much lesse doubt[full, to him that knoweth] other can imagine, w<sup>t</sup> a torm<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> delaie of a Kingdome is, to such a one [as suffereth hunger the]reas and feare y<sup>t</sup> euerie hower maie breed some alteracon, to y<sup>e</sup> [prejudice of his conceiv]ed hope. We see oftentimes y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> child is impacient in this matter, [to expect the natural] ende of his parents life. Whom, not w<sup>th</sup>standing, by nature [he is enforced to love: and who] also by nature, is like long to leaue y<sup>e</sup> World before him: [and after his disease he is sure] to obtaine his desire: butt most certeine of [dangerous event, if he attempt to get it, whi]le yett his parent liueth. W<sup>ch</sup> foure con[siderations, are (no doubt) of great force to containe a] child in dutie, & to bridle his desire: [albeit sometimes not sufficient to withstand the greedy] appetite of raigning.

Scambling  
betweene  
Leycester and  
Huntington  
as the upshot.

Richard  
of Gloucester  
An. 1. Edw. 5.

2. That the  
conspirators  
meane in her  
Majesties  
dayes.

Foure con-  
siderations.

[But what shall we think, when none of these four considerations do restraine? when the present Possessor is no Parent? where she is like by nature, to out-live the

expector? whose death must needs bring infinite difficulties to the enterprise? and in whose lifetime the matter is most easy to be achieved, under colour and authority of the present Possessor? shall we think that in such a case the ambitious man, shall overrule his own passion, and leave his commodity. As for that, which is alledged before for my Lord, in the reason of his Defenders: that his present state is so]

MS. Folio 84.

prosperous, as he cannot expect better in y<sup>e</sup> next chaunge w<sup>h</sup>soeū should be: is of smale [moment in] y<sup>e</sup> conceit of an ambitious heade, whose eye and hart is alwaies vpon y<sup>t</sup>, he hopeth for, [and] enioyeth no<sup>t</sup>: & no<sup>t</sup> vpon y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> alreadie he possesseth, be it neuer so good. Especiallie in marks of honor and authoritie, it is an infallible rule, y<sup>t</sup> one degree desired & no<sup>t</sup> obtayned, afflicteth more then fūe degrees alreadie possessed, can giue consolacon: y<sup>e</sup> storie of D. *Aman*, confirmeth this evidentlie, who being y<sup>e</sup> greatest subiect in y<sup>e</sup> world vnder K. *Assuer<sup>s</sup>*, after he had reckoned vp all his pompe, riches, glorie & felicitie to his frends, yett he se, y<sup>t</sup> all this was nothing vnto him, vntill he could obtaine y<sup>t</sup> revenge, w<sup>ch</sup> he desired, vpō *Mardecheus* his enemy: and heerby it cometh ordinarilie to passe, y<sup>t</sup> amongst highest in authoritie, are found y<sup>e</sup> greatest stoore of Malcontents, y<sup>t</sup> most do endaunger their Prince & Contrey.

A thing  
worthy to be  
noted in  
ambitious  
men.

Histor. 5.

When y<sup>e</sup> *Percies* tooke pt w<sup>th</sup> *H. of Boll.*; against King *Ric.* 2. their lawfull Souereigne: it was not for lacke of pferm<sup>t</sup>: for y<sup>e</sup>y were exceedinglie aduanced by y<sup>e</sup> sd King, & possessed y<sup>e</sup> three Earldomes of *Northumberland*, *Worster*, and *Staff.* together, besides manie other office & dignities of hono<sup>r</sup>.

The Percies.

In like sorte, when y<sup>e</sup> two *Nevills*, tooke vpon them to ioine w<sup>t</sup> *Ric* of *Yorke*, to put downe y<sup>e</sup>ir most benigne Prince K: *H.* 6: and after againe on y<sup>e</sup> other side; to putt downe K. *Ed.* 4: it was no<sup>t</sup> vpon wan<sup>t</sup> of aduancem<sup>t</sup>: they being Earls both of *Salisb. War.*; and *Lo.*: of manie notable places besides. Bu<sup>t</sup> it is was vpon a vaine imaginatiō of future fortune, wherby such men are comonlie lead: & yett had not they anie smell in their nostrills, of getting y<sup>e</sup> kingdome for themselues, as this man hath to pricke him forward.

The two  
Nevilles.

If yo<sup>u</sup> saie y<sup>t</sup> theise men hated their soueraigne, & therby were led to pcure his destruccon; y<sup>e</sup> same I aie aunswere of my *Lo.*: living, though of all men living he hath least cause so to doe. But y<sup>e</sup>t such is y<sup>e</sup> nature of wicked ingratitude, y<sup>t</sup> were it oweth most, & disdaineth to be bounde: there vpō eūie little discontent<sup>m<sup>t</sup></sup>, it tourne the dooble obligacon into triple hatred.

Leycesters  
hatred to her  
Majesty.

The evill  
nature of  
ingratitude.

This he shewed euiden<sup>ti<sup>e</sup></sup> in the time of this disgrace, wherin he did no<sup>t</sup> onelie diminish, vilipend, & debase amongst his frends, y<sup>e</sup> inestimable benefitts he hath receaued frō her Ma<sup>tie</sup>, butt also vsed to expbrate his owne good services & meritts, & to touch her highnes w<sup>th</sup> ingrate consideracōs & recompence of y<sup>e</sup> same, w<sup>ch</sup> behauior together w<sup>th</sup> his hastie pparacon to rebellion, and assault vpon her Ma<sup>ties</sup> Roiall person & dignitie, vpon so smale a cause given: did well show w<sup>t</sup> minde inwardlie he beareth to his soueraigne, & w<sup>t</sup> her Ma<sup>tie</sup> maie expect, if by offending him, she should once fall w<sup>th</sup>in y<sup>e</sup> compasse of his furious pawes; seing [such] a smoake of disdaine could no<sup>t</sup> pceede, bu<sup>t</sup> from a fierie furnace of hatred w<sup>th</sup>in.

Leycesters  
speeches of  
her Majesty  
in the time of  
his disgrace.

And surelie it is a wonderfull matter to consider w<sup>t</sup> a little checke, or rather y<sup>e</sup> bare imagination of a smale oūthwratt, maie worke in a proude & disdainfull stomacke.

The causes of  
hatred in  
Leycester  
towards her  
Majesty.

[The remem]brance of his marriage, y<sup>t</sup> he much ptended and desired<sup>missed</sup> w<sup>th</sup> her Ma<sup>tie</sup>, [doth stick] deepe in his breast & stirreth him dailie to revenge. As also doth disdain of [certain checks] & disgraces receaved at some times, especiallie y<sup>t</sup> of his last marriage: [which irketh him so] much y<sup>e</sup> more, by howmuch greater feare and danger it brought him into, [at that time, and did] putt his Widdow in such open phrensie, as she raged manie monethes [after against her] Ma<sup>tie</sup>, & is not cold yett: butt remaineth as it were a sworne enemy, for [that injury, and standeth] like a fiende or furie a<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> elbowe of her *Amadis*, to stirr him forward [when occasion should] serue. And w<sup>t</sup> effect such female suggestiōs maie worke, when y<sup>e</sup> [find an humour proud and] pliable to their purpose: yo<sup>u</sup> maie remember by y<sup>e</sup> example [of the Duchess of Somerset, who i]nforced her Housband to cutt of y<sup>e</sup> heade, of his onelie deare [Brother, to his own evident de]struccon for her contētacon.

An evident  
conclusion  
that the  
execution is  
meant in time  
of her  
Majesty.

[Wherefore,] to conclude y<sup>e</sup> matter w<sup>thout</sup> further dispute [or reason: saying there is so much discovered in] y<sup>e</sup> case as there is: so grea<sup>t</sup> desire of [raigne, so great impatience of delay, so great hope and habili]tie of successe yf it be att[empted, under the good fortune and present authority of the competitours: seeing the plots be so well laid, the preparation so forward, the favourers so furnished, the time so propitious, and so many other causes conviting together: seeing that by differing, all may be hazarded, and by hastening, little can be endangered, the state and condition of things well weighed: finding also the bands of duty so broken already in the conspirators, the causes of mislike and hatred so manifest, and the solicitours to execution, so potent and diligent, as women, malice and ambition, are wont to be: it is more than probable, that they will not leese their present commodity, especially seeing they have learnt by their Archi-type or Proto-plot which they followed]

MS. Folio 85.

An error of  
the Father  
now to bee  
corrected by  
the Sonne.

(I meane y<sup>e</sup> conspiracie of *Northu. & Suff*: in K. *Ed*: daies) y<sup>t</sup> hee [in there was some error] comitted at y<sup>t</sup> time, w<sup>ch</sup> ouerthrew y<sup>e</sup> whole, and y<sup>t</sup> was, y<sup>e</sup> differing [of some things until] after y<sup>e</sup> King's death, w<sup>ch</sup> should haue ben pu<sup>t</sup> in execucon before. For [if in the time of their] plotting, when as yett their designm<sup>ts</sup> were not published to y<sup>e</sup> World, [they had under the] counten<sup>ance</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> King (as well they might haue done) gotten in to their [hands the two Sisters,] & dispatched some other few affaires, before they had caused y<sup>e</sup> yong [Prince to die: no doubt] but in mans reason y<sup>e</sup> whole designm<sup>t</sup> had taken place: consequentlie [it is to be preso]posed, y<sup>t</sup> theise men (being no fooles in their owne affaires) will take heede [of falling into] y<sup>e</sup> like error by delaie: butt rather will make all sure, by stricking while [the iron is hot], as our pūerbe warneth them.

Lawyer.

Itt cannot be denied in reason (quoth y<sup>e</sup> Lawier) bu<sup>t</sup> y<sup>t</sup> they haue many [helps of doing] what they list now, vnder y<sup>e</sup> pnt fauour, counten<sup>ance</sup> & au<sup>thoritie</sup> of her [Majesty, which they] should no<sup>t</sup> haue after highnes decease: when each man should remain [more at liberty] for his supream obedience, by reason of y<sup>e</sup> statute pūided for vncertain successor: and therfor I for my pte, would rather counsell them, to make [much of her Majesty's] life: for after y<sup>t</sup>, they little knowe w<sup>t</sup> maie ensue, or befall y<sup>eir</sup> designes.

Gentleman.

They will make y<sup>e</sup> most thereof (quoth y<sup>e</sup> Gent) for their owne advantadge, [but

after that] w<sup>t</sup> is like to follo<sup>w</sup>, y<sup>e</sup> examples of *Ed*; and *Ric* 2, as also of *H*: and *Ed*. 6 do [sufficiently] forwarne vs; whose lifes were plunged vntill y<sup>eir</sup> deathes were thought [more profi]table for y<sup>e</sup> conspirato<sup>rs</sup> & no longer. And for y<sup>e</sup> statute yo<sup>u</sup> spake of, pcured [by themselves,] for establishing y<sup>e</sup> vncerteintie of y<sup>e</sup> next<sup>true</sup> successor (wheras all our former [statutes] were won<sup>t</sup> to be made for y<sup>e</sup> declaracon & certeintie of y<sup>e</sup> same) it is well to [*Proviso*, (as you] know) y<sup>t</sup> it shall no<sup>t</sup> endure longer then y<sup>e</sup> life of her Ma<sup>tie</sup>, y<sup>t</sup> now raigneth: [that is, indeed,] no longer then vntill themselues be readie to place another. For then, no doute, we shall see a faire pclamacon y<sup>t</sup> my Lo: of *Hunt*: is y<sup>e</sup> onelie next heire: w<sup>th</sup> [a bundle of] halte<sup>rs</sup> to hange all such as shall dare once open their mouth for deniall of y<sup>e</sup> [same].

Her Majesties life and death, to serve the conspiratours turne.

A proclamation with halters.

Att theise wordes y<sup>e</sup> old Lawier stepped backe as somew<sup>t</sup> astonnied & began to [make] crosses in the aire, after y<sup>eir</sup> fashion, wherat we laughed, and then he said: t[ruly my Masters] I had thought y<sup>t</sup> no man had conceyued so euill imaginacon of this statute, [as myself:] but now I pceiue y<sup>t</sup> I alone am not malicious. For my owne pte, I must confess [unto] yo<sup>u</sup>, y<sup>t</sup> as often as I read ouer this statute, or thinke of y<sup>e</sup> same (as by diūse occas[ions] manie times I doe) I feele myself much greiued & afflicted in mynd, vpon fears [which] I conceaue w<sup>t</sup> maie be y<sup>e</sup> ende of this statute to our Countrie, & w<sup>t</sup> priuie me[aning the chief] pcurers therof might haue for y<sup>eir</sup> owne drifts, against y<sup>e</sup> Realme, and life of he[r Majesty that] now raigneth.

Lawyer.

Papistically blessing.

The statute of concealing the heire apparant.

And somuch y<sup>e</sup> more it maketh me to doubte, for y<sup>t</sup> in all o<sup>r</sup> records of lawe yo<sup>u</sup> shall [not find (to) my remembrance] anie one example of such a deuise, for concealing of y<sup>e</sup> true [inheritor: but] rather in all ages, states, & times (especiallie from *Ric* i. downwards) yo<sup>u</sup> [shall find statu]tes, ordinances & puisions, for declaracon and manifestacon of y<sup>e</sup> same, [as you have well ob]serued & touched before. And therfor y<sup>is</sup> straunge and new deuise must [needs have some stra]unge and vnacc<sup>ust</sup>omed meanig, and God of his mcie graunt, y<sup>t</sup> it haue<sup>not</sup> [some strange and unex]pected event.

Richard going towards Hierusalem began the custome by Parliament, as Polidore noteth Anno 10. of Richard the second to declare the next heire.

[In sight of] all men, y<sup>is</sup> is alreadie evident, y<sup>t</sup> neū Countrie in y<sup>e</sup> world was [brought into more apparent] daunger of vtter ruine, then o<sup>rs</sup> is at this daie, by ptence of [this statute. For where as there is no] Gent so meane in y<sup>e</sup> Realme y<sup>t</sup> canno<sup>t</sup> give a [guess more or less who shall be his next heir,] & his tenūnts soone coniecture, w<sup>t</sup> mane<sup>r</sup> of pt [shall be their next Lord: in the title of our no]ble Crowne, wherof all rest dependeth; [neither is her Majesty permitted to know or say, who] shalbe her next successor, nor [her subjects allowed to understand or imagine, who in right may be their] future souaigne: [An intolerable injury in a matter of so singular importance.]

The danger of our COUNTRY by concealing the next heire.

[For (alas) what should become of this our native Country if God should take from us her most excellent Majesty (as once he will) and so leave us destitute upon the sudden what should become of our lives, of our states, and of our whole Realm, or Government? Can any man promise himself, one day longer of rest, peace, possession, life or liberty, within the land, when God shall lend us her Majesty to reign over us? Which albeit, we do and are bound to wish that it may be long: yet reason telleth us, that by course of nature, it cannot be of any great continuance, and by a thousand accidents it may be much shorter.]

Great inconveniences.

And shall] then our most noble Commōwelth & Kingdome, w<sup>ch</sup> is of ppetuitie and must continew [to ours]elues and our posteritie, hange onelie vpon y<sup>e</sup> life of her highnes alone, well strooken in [year]s & of no great good helth or robustious & strong complexion.

Sir Christopher  
Hattons  
oration.

I was,] w<sup>th</sup>in hearing some six or seuen yeares agoe when S<sup>r</sup> X. *Hatten* in a verrie great assemblie made an eloquent oracon (w<sup>ch</sup> after I weene was putt in print) at y<sup>e</sup> pardoning & deli[veri]e of him from y<sup>e</sup> gallowes, y<sup>t</sup> by error as was, thought had discharged his peece vpon her M<sup>t</sup> Barge & hurt certaine psons in her highnes psence. And in y<sup>t</sup> oratiō he declared & descri[bed] verrie effectuellie, w<sup>t</sup> inestimable damadge had insued to y<sup>e</sup> Realme, if her Ma<sup>tie</sup> by y<sup>t</sup> or any other meanes should haue ben taken from vs. He sett forth most liuelie before y<sup>e</sup> eies of all men, w<sup>t</sup> diuision, w<sup>t</sup> dissent, w<sup>t</sup> bloudshed had insued, & w<sup>t</sup> fatall daungers were most cten to fall vpon vs, whensoeū y<sup>t</sup> dolefull daie should happen wherin no man should be sure of his [life,] of his goodes, of his wife, of his children ; no man certaine whether to flie when [to follow, or] where to seeke repose and pteccion.

Intollerable  
treasons.

And as all y<sup>e</sup> hearers there psent did easelie graunt y<sup>t</sup> he therin said troth & farr lesse then might haue ben said in y<sup>t</sup> behalf, things standing as they doe : so manie one (I trow) y<sup>t</sup> heard theise wordes pceede from a Councello<sup>r</sup>, y<sup>t</sup> had good cause to know y<sup>e</sup> state of his Contrey : entred into this cogitatiō w<sup>t</sup> punishm<sup>t</sup> they might deserue then, at y<sup>e</sup> whole States & Comowelths handes, who first letting her Ma<sup>tie</sup> from marriadge & therby pcuring this statute of dissembling y<sup>e</sup> next inherito<sup>r</sup> : had brought y<sup>e</sup> Realme into so euiden<sup>t</sup> & ineuitable daungers ? For euie one well considered & weyed w<sup>th</sup> himself y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> things w<sup>ch</sup> yett onelie letts these daungers and miseries sett downe by Sir *Crer*, must necessarilie one daie faile vs all, y<sup>t</sup> is, y<sup>e</sup> life of her Ma<sup>tie</sup> : now pnt (and then saie we) how falleth it out y<sup>t</sup> so generall a calamitie as must needes ouertake vs eare it be long (and maie for anie thing we know to morrow next) is no<sup>t</sup> puided for, as well as forseen.

Is there no remedie, bu<sup>t</sup> we must willinglie & wittinglie rune into our owne ruine &, for y<sup>e</sup> fauour or feare of some few aspirato<sup>rs</sup>, betraie o<sup>r</sup> countrie & y<sup>e</sup> bloude of so manie thousands innocen<sup>te</sup>, as live w<sup>th</sup>in y<sup>e</sup> lande ?

The miseries  
to follow upon  
her Majesties  
death.

For tell me (good S<sup>r</sup>) I praie yo<sup>u</sup>, If her Ma<sup>tie</sup> should die to morrow next (whose life God [long] pserue & blesse) but if she should be taken from vs, as by condicon of nature & humaine frailtie she maie) w<sup>t</sup> would yo<sup>u</sup> doe ? w<sup>ch</sup> waie would yo<sup>u</sup> looke ? or w<sup>t</sup> heade or pt, knew anie good subiect in y<sup>e</sup> Realme to followe ? I speake not of y<sup>e</sup> conspirat<sup>ors</sup> for I know they will be readie and resolued whom to follow : but I speake of y<sup>e</sup> plaine simple & well meaning subiect who following now y<sup>e</sup> vtter lre of y<sup>is</sup> fraudulent statute (fraudulent I meane in secreatt conceipt of y<sup>e</sup> cuning aspirou<sup>rs</sup> ?) shalbe taken on y<sup>e</sup> suddein & being put [in amaze] by y<sup>e</sup> vnexpected contencon about y<sup>e</sup> Crowne, shalbe brought into a wood, both of bodie & goodes, w<sup>ch</sup> now are thought vpon, them who are most in daunger for [the same.] And this is for y<sup>e</sup> commowelth and country.

The danger  
to her  
Majesty by  
this statute.

But vnto her Ma<sup>ty</sup>, for whose good & saftey, y<sup>e</sup> statute is onelie ptended to [be made, no doubt,] but y<sup>t</sup> it bringeth farr more daunger, then anie deuise y<sup>t</sup> they haue vsed be[sides. For hereby un]der couler of restra y<sup>e</sup> claimes & titles of trew successo<sup>rs</sup>, (whose end [eavours, notwithstan]ding are comonlie more calme and moderate

then of vsurpers, (they [make unto themselves,] a meane to foster and sett forward their owne conspiracie w<sup>th</sup>out co[n]trolment: seeing no] man of might maie expose himself against him, but w<sup>th</sup> suspicion, [that he meaneth to claim] for himself. And so they being armed, on the one syde, w<sup>th</sup> their a[uthority and force of present for] tune, and defended, on y<sup>e</sup> other syde, by y<sup>e</sup> ptence of y<sup>e</sup> statute: [they may securely worke and] plott at their pleasure, as yo<sup>u</sup> haue well proued before [that they do. And whensoever their grounds and] foundations shalbe readie, it cannott be denied [but that her Majesties life, lieth much at their di]screatiō, to take it, or vse it, to their best [commodity: (and there is no doubt, but they will,) as such men are] wont to do in such [affaires. Marry one thing standeth not in their powers, so absolutely and that is, to prolong her Majesties dayes or favour towards themselves, at their pleasures: whereof it is not unlike but they will have due consideration, least perhaps upon any sudden accident, they might bee found unready.]

[They have good care thereof I can assure you, (quoth the Gentleman) and mean not to bee prevented by any accident, or other mishap whatsoever: they will bee ready for all events: and for that cause, they hasten so much their preparations at this day, more than ever before: by sending out their spies and]

Gentleman.

The hastning  
of the Con-  
spiratours.

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sollicito<sup>rs</sup> eūie where, to proue and confirme their frends: by deliūing [their Common Watch-] word: by complaining on all hands on our ptestant Bishops & Clergie, & [of all the present state] of our irreformed religion, (as they call it:) by amplifieng onelie y<sup>e</sup> [danger of] Papists & Scottish faccon: by giving out openlie y<sup>t</sup> now her Ma<sup>tie</sup> is past [hope of Child-] birth, and consequentlie seing God hath given no better successe y<sup>t</sup> way [in two Women] one after y<sup>e</sup> other: it were not convenient (saie they) y<sup>t</sup> another of y<sup>t</sup> sex should [ensue: with high] commendacon of y<sup>e</sup> Law *Salicke* in *Fraunce*, wherby women are forbidden to [succeed. Which] speach though in shew it be deliūed in shew against the Queene of *Scotts* [and other of *Henry* the 7] his line, y<sup>t</sup> discen<sup>d</sup> of Sisters: yett all men see y<sup>t</sup> it toucheth as well y<sup>e</sup> disabling [of her Majesty,] y<sup>t</sup> is pnt, as others to come: & so tendeth directlie to Maturacon of y<sup>e</sup> principal [purpose] w<sup>ch</sup> I haue declared before.

Heere said I, for y<sup>e</sup> rest w<sup>ch</sup> yo<sup>u</sup> speake of, besides y<sup>e</sup> Watchword, it is comon and e[verywhere trea]ted in talke amongst them: but yett for y<sup>e</sup> Watchword it self (for y<sup>t</sup> yo<sup>u</sup> name it) [I thinke (Sir)] manie knowe it not, yf I were the first y<sup>t</sup> told y<sup>e</sup> storie, as phappes I was. [For in truth] I came to it by a rare hap (as then I told yo<sup>u</sup>) y<sup>e</sup> thing being vttered & exp[ounded by a Baron] of their owne faccon, to another Nobleman of y<sup>e</sup> same degree & religiō, though [not of the same] opinion in theise affaires. And for y<sup>t</sup> I am requested no<sup>t</sup> to vtter y<sup>e</sup> second, who [told it mee in se]creatt, I must also spare y<sup>e</sup> name of y<sup>e</sup> first: w<sup>ch</sup> otherwise I would no<sup>t</sup>, no<sup>r</sup> y<sup>e</sup> [time and place] where he vttered y<sup>e</sup> same.

Schollar.

The Watch-  
word of the  
Conspira-  
tours.

To this (said y<sup>e</sup> Lawier) yo<sup>u</sup> do well in y<sup>t</sup>: but yett I beseech yo<sup>u</sup> lett me know y<sup>e</sup> W[atchword (if] there be anie such) for my instruccon and helpe, when neede shall require. For [I assure you] y<sup>t</sup> this Gents former speach of halte<sup>rs</sup> hath so terrified me, as if anie, should come [and aske or] see my inclinacon in theise matters, I would aunswer them fullie to their [good content]m<sup>t</sup>, if I knew y<sup>e</sup> Watchword, wherby to know them. For of all things, I loue [not to be han]ged for quarrells of Kingdomes.

Lawyer.



Schollav.  
Ave you settled?

The Watchword is, (said I) *whether yo<sup>a</sup> be settled or no?* and yf yo<sup>a</sup> aunswer y<sup>e</sup>, [and seeme] to vnderstand y<sup>e</sup> meaning therof: then are yo<sup>a</sup> knowen to be of their faccon, and [so to bee accomp]ted and dealt w<sup>th</sup> for things to come. But if yo<sup>a</sup> stagger or doubt in aūswer[ing, as if] yo<sup>a</sup> know no<sup>t</sup> pfectlie y<sup>e</sup> misterie (as y<sup>e</sup> Noblemā my good Lo:) imaginig y<sup>t</sup> it had [beene meant] of his religion, w<sup>ch</sup> was well knowen to be good and settled in y<sup>e</sup> Ghospell) [then are] yo<sup>a</sup> descried therby, eyther no<sup>t</sup> to be of their side, or else to be but a Puny no<sup>t</sup> well [instructed,] & consequentlie, he y<sup>t</sup> moueth yo<sup>a</sup> y<sup>e</sup> questiō, will pntlie breake of y<sup>e</sup> speach, [and turne to some other talke, vntill afterward occasiō be geven to pswade yo<sup>a</sup> or else [instruct] yo<sup>a</sup> better in y<sup>t</sup> affaire.

A great  
mistry.

Marrie y<sup>e</sup> Noblem, whereof I spake before, pceiving by y<sup>e</sup> demaunding, y<sup>t</sup> [there was some] misterie in covert, vnder y<sup>e</sup> questiō: tooke hold of y<sup>e</sup> wordes, & would not [suffer the propou]nder to passe awai (as he indeuored) bu<sup>t</sup> w<sup>th</sup> much intreatie, brought him [at length, to expound] y<sup>e</sup> full meaning and purpose of y<sup>e</sup> riddle. And this was y<sup>e</sup> first occasion [(as I think) whe]rby this secreatt came abroad. Albeit afterwarde att y<sup>e</sup> public [communions, which] were made thoroughou<sup>t</sup> so manie shires, y<sup>e</sup> matter became more [common: especially] among the straungers y<sup>t</sup> inhabitt (as yo<sup>a</sup> know) in great nombers [with us at this day. All] w<sup>ch</sup> (as yo<sup>a</sup> saie) are made most assured to y<sup>is</sup> faccon, & ready [to assist the same with great] forces at all occasions.

Lawyer.

[Good Lord (quoth the Lawyer)] how manie misteries & secreatts be there abroad [in the World, whereof wee simple men] know nothing & suspes<sup>t</sup> lesse. This Watch- [word should I never have imagined: and for the great] & often assemblies vnder ptence [of Communions, though of themselves and of their owne na]ture, they were vnaccust[omed, and consequentlie subject to suspicion: yet did I never conceive so far forward as nowe I doe; as neither of the lodging and entertaining of so many strangers in the Realme, whereof our Artizans doe complain everywhere. But now I see the reason thereof, which (no doubt) is founded upon great policy for the purpose. And by this also I see, that the house of *Huntington*, presseth farre forward for the game, and shouldreth neare the goal to lay hands upon the same. Which to tell you plainly, liketh mee but a little: both in respect of the good will I beare to the whole line of King *Henry*, which hereby is likely to bee dispossessed; as also for the misery, which I doe foresee, must necessarily ensue upon our Countrey, if once the chalenge of *Huntington*]

Assemblies at  
communions.

Strangers  
within the  
Land.

The perill of  
our Countrey  
if *Huntingtons*  
claime take  
place.

MS. Folio 88.

take] place in our Realme. W<sup>ch</sup> challendge being deriued from y<sup>e</sup> title of *Clarence* onelie [in the] house of *Yorke*, before y<sup>e</sup> vnion of y<sup>e</sup> two grea<sup>t</sup> Houses: raiseth vp againe y<sup>e</sup> old contetiō [betweene], y<sup>e</sup> families of *Yorke* and *Lancaster* wherin so much *English* bloude was spilt in times past, and much more like to be poured out now if y<sup>e</sup> same contentiō should be sett on foote againe. Seing to y<sup>e</sup> controusie of titles, would be added also y<sup>e</sup> controusie of *Religiō*, w<sup>ch</sup> of [all] other differences is most daungerous.

Gentleman.

[Sir] (quoth y<sup>e</sup> Gent,) now yo<sup>a</sup> touch a matter of consequence indeed & such as y<sup>e</sup> verie naming therof, maketh my verie hart to shake & tremble. I remember well, w<sup>t</sup> *Philip Comines* setteth downe in his historie of our Countries calamitie, by y<sup>e</sup> contentiō of theise houses distinguished by y<sup>e</sup> red rose and y<sup>e</sup> white: but yett both in their armes might iustlie haue borne y<sup>e</sup> colour of red w<sup>th</sup> a fierie sworde in a blacke feild to signifie y<sup>e</sup> aboundaunce of bloud [and] mortallitie w<sup>ch</sup> ensued in our Countrey, by y<sup>eir</sup> most wofull and cruell contentiō.

The red rose  
and the  
white.



I will no<sup>t</sup> stand here to sett downe y<sup>e</sup> pticule<sup>rs</sup>, obserued and gathered by y<sup>e</sup> foresaid au<sup>t</sup>hor, though a straunger, w<sup>ch</sup> for y<sup>e</sup> most pt he saw himself, while he lived about y<sup>e</sup> D. of *Bur<sup>y</sup>* [and] *Lewes* of *ffraunce* of y<sup>t</sup> time: namelie y<sup>e</sup> pittifull descripcon of diuers right Noblemē of our Realme, who besides all other miseries were driuen to beg openlie in forreigne pts, and y<sup>e</sup> like. Myne owne obseruatiōs in reading oū o<sup>r</sup> Countries affaires, is sufficient, to make me abhorr y<sup>e</sup> memorie of y<sup>t</sup> time, and to dreade all occasions, y<sup>t</sup> maie leade vs to y<sup>e</sup> like in time to come: seing y<sup>t</sup> in my iudgm<sup>t</sup>, neither y<sup>e</sup> Ciuill Warres of *Marius & Silla*, or of *Pompey & Cæsar* among y<sup>e</sup> *Romanes*, nor yett y<sup>e</sup> *Guelphians* and *Gibelines* in among y<sup>e</sup> *Italians* did eū worke so much woe, as this did to o<sup>r</sup> poore Countrey. Wherin by reason of y<sup>e</sup> contentiō of *Yorke & Lancaster* were foughten sixteen or 17 pitched fields in lesse than an 100 yeares, y<sup>t</sup> is from y<sup>e</sup> 11 or 12 yeare of *Ric y<sup>e</sup> 2*: his raigne (when this cōtrousie first beganne to bud vp) vnto y<sup>e</sup> 13 yeare of *H. 7*. At w<sup>t</sup> time by cutting of y<sup>e</sup> chief titler of *H*: house, to witt, yong *Ed. Plant. Earle of War*; sonne & Heire of *G. D. of Clarence*; y<sup>e</sup> contentiō most happelie was quenched and ended, wherin so manie feilds (as I haue said) were foughten, between Brethren and Inhabitants of our owne natiō. And therein, and otherwise onelie about y<sup>e</sup> same quarrell, were slaine murdered & made awaie, ix or x Kings Sonnes besides, aboue 40 Earles, Marquesses, and Dukes of name: but manie more [Lords], and Knightes, and Gent, & cap<sup>ens</sup>, and of y<sup>e</sup> commō people, w<sup>th</sup>out nomber & by pticuler coniecture verie neare about 200,000. For y<sup>t</sup> in one battaile foughen by *Ed. 4*: there are recorded to be slaine on both pts 35,711, besides others wounded & taken prisoners to be putt to death afterwarde at y<sup>e</sup> pleasure of y<sup>e</sup> Conquero<sup>r</sup>: at diūse battalleis [after,] 10,000 slayne at a battaile. As of those of *Barnett, Tewksburie*, fought both [in one] yeare. This suffred o<sup>r</sup> afflicted countrie in those daies, by this vnfortunate [and deadly] contentiō, w<sup>ch</sup> could neū be ended, but by ye happie conuncion of both those [houses toge] ther, in *H. 7*: neyther yett (so as appeareth by chronicle) vntill (as [I have said] the state] had cutt of y<sup>e</sup> issue of y<sup>e</sup> D: of *Clarence*, who was cause of diūse pills [of King Henry VII, tho'] he were in prison. By whose sister ye faccon of *Hunt.* at this daie doth [seek to raise up] y<sup>e</sup> same contentiō againe w<sup>th</sup> farr greater daunger both to the [Realme and to her] Ma<sup>tie</sup> y<sup>t</sup> now raigneth, then euer before.

The misery  
of England  
by the  
contention  
betweene  
*Yorke* and  
*Lancaster*.  
*Guelphians*  
and *Gibelines*.

*Edward*  
*Plantagin<sup>e</sup>*  
Earle of  
*Warwick*.

The Battell  
by *Tadcaster*  
on *Palme*  
*Sunday*,  
*An. 1460*.

The danger of  
*Huntingtons*  
claime, to the  
Realm and to  
her Majesty.

And for y<sup>e</sup> Realme it is euidēt, by y<sup>t</sup> it geueth roome to straungers, [Competitors of the] house of *Lancaster*, better able to mainteyne their own title [by sword than ever was any] of y<sup>t</sup> linage before him. And for her M<sup>tie</sup> perrill pnt, it [is nothing hard to coniecture:] seing y<sup>e</sup> same title in y<sup>e</sup> foresed Earle of *War*: [was so dangerous and troublesome] to her Graundfather (by whom she holdeth) as hee [was faine twice to take armes in] defence of his right against y<sup>e</sup> said title, [which was in those dayes preferred and advanced by] y<sup>e</sup> ffrends of *Clarence*, be[fore that of *Henry*: as also this of *Huntington* is at this day, by his faction before that of] her Ma<sup>tie</sup> [though never so unjustly.]

[Touching *Huntington's* title, before her Majesty (quoth the Lawyer) I will say nothing: because in reason, I see not by what pretence in the World, hee may thrust himself so farre forth: seeing her Majesty is descended, not onely of the House of *Lancaster*: but also before him most apparently, from the House of *Yorke* itselſe, as from the eldest daughter of King *Edward IV*, being the eldest brother of that House. Whereas *Huntington* claimeth onely, by the daughter of *George Duke of Clarence* the younger brother. Marry yet I must confesse that if the Earle of *Warwick's* title, were better]

Lawyer.

How  
*Huntington*  
maketh his  
title before  
her Majesty.

\* The most  
of *Huntingtons*  
Ancestours  
by whom hee  
maketh title,  
attainted of  
treason.

The infamous  
device of K.  
*Richard* the  
third allowed  
by *Huntington*.

Anno 1.  
*Maria*.

A point to be  
noted by her  
Majesty.

The joyning  
of both  
houses.

The Line of  
*Portugall*.

The old  
estimation of  
the House of  
*Lancaster*.

*Henry* Earle  
of *Richmond*.

then y<sup>t</sup> of king *H. 7.* (w<sup>ch</sup> is most false, though manie attempted to [defend the same by sword:]) then hath *H* some wrong at this daie, by her Ma<sup>tie</sup>. Albeit in verie truth [the \*attaints of so] manie of his Auncestors by whom he claimeth: would aunswere him [also sufficiently] in y<sup>t</sup> behalf, though his title were otherwise allowable.

But I know bysides this they haue another fetch of *Ryc 3.*: wh[ereby hee would needs] proue, his elder brother k: *Ed*: to be a Bastard: and consequentlie his [whole line as well] male as female to be voide. W<sup>ch</sup> deuise thoughe it be ridiculous, and w[as at the time when it] was first invented: yett, as *Ryc* found at y<sup>t</sup> tyme a *Do*: *Shawe* y<sup>t</sup> sh[amed not to publish and] defende y<sup>e</sup> same, at *Paule's Crosse* in a Sermon: and *John* of *North*: my [Lord of *Leycester's* Father] founde ou<sup>t</sup> diūs Preachers in his time, to sett vp y<sup>e</sup> right of *Suff*:, and to [debase the right of] *H.* daughters both in *London*, *Cambridge*, *Oxford*, & other places, most app[arently against] all law and reason: so I doubt not, but those men will finde ou<sup>t</sup> also, both *Shaue* & [Sands, and] other, to sett out y<sup>e</sup> title of *Clarence*, before y<sup>e</sup> whole interest of k: *H. 7.* and [his posterity, if] occasion serued. W<sup>ch</sup> is a pointe of importaunce to be considered by her Ma<sup>tie</sup> [albeit for my] part, I meane no<sup>t</sup> now to stande thervpon, but onelie vppō y<sup>e</sup> other of the [House of *Lancaster*, as] I haue said.

For as y<sup>t</sup> most honorable, lawfull, and happie coniunctiō of y<sup>e</sup> two advsary [Houses, in King] *H 7* and his wife, made an ende of the shedding of innocent bloude w<sup>thin</sup> [itself and brought] vs y<sup>t</sup> desired peace, w<sup>ch</sup> eū since we haue inioyed, by the reigne of their [two most noble issue:] so y<sup>e</sup> plott that now is in hande for y<sup>e</sup> cutting, of y<sup>e</sup> residue of y<sup>t</sup> issue, & for [recalling back] of the whole to the onelie House of *Yorke*, againe: is like to plunge vs deeper, [than ever] in civile discorde, and to make vs y<sup>e</sup> baite of all forreigne Princes: seing [there bee among] them at this daie, some, of no small power (as I haue said) who ptende to [be the next heires] by y<sup>e</sup> house of *Lan*: & consequentlie are not like to giue ouer or abandone y<sup>eir</sup> [owne right,] if once the doore be opened, to contencon for y<sup>e</sup> same, by disanulling y<sup>e</sup> Line of king [Henry VII. wherein] onelie y<sup>e</sup> keies of all concord remaine knitt together.

And albeit I know well y<sup>t</sup> such as be of my Lo: of *H*: ptie will make smale acc[ompt of the title] of *Lancaster* as, lesse rightfull a grea<sup>t</sup> deale then y<sup>t</sup> of *Yorke*, and I for my pte [meane not] greatlie to avow y<sup>e</sup> same, as now it is placed, being myself no fauourer of forraine [titles:] (yett indifferen<sup>t</sup> men haue to consider, how it was taken in tymes past and [how it may] againe in time to come, yf contentiō should arise: how manie Noble pson [ages of our] Realme did offer themselues to die in defence thereof: how manie oathes & laws [were] geuen and receaued throughou<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Realme for maintenance of y<sup>e</sup> same, against [the House] of *Yorke*: for eū: how manie worthie Kings were crowned, and raigned of that [House and race] to witt y<sup>e</sup> 4 most Noble *H's* one after another, y<sup>e</sup> 4 y<sup>e</sup> 5 y<sup>e</sup> 6 and y<sup>e</sup> 7, who [both in number,] governt, sanctitie, couradge, & feates of armes, were nothing inferior (if [not superiour] to those] of y<sup>e</sup> other house and line of *Yorke*, after y<sup>e</sup> diuision betweene the families.

[It] is to be considered also, as a speciall signe of the fauour & affeccion, of our [whole nation unto that fami]lie: y<sup>t</sup> *H.* Earle of *Rychmond* though descending but of the last sonne & [third wife of *John* of] *Gaunt* Du: of *Lan*: was so respected, for that onelie by y<sup>e</sup> vnusall [Realme: as they inclined] wholie, to call him from banishm<sup>t</sup> & to make him King w<sup>th</sup> the [deposition of *Richard* which then ruled] of the House of *Yorke*,

vpon conditiō onelie y<sup>e</sup> said *Henry* [should take to wife a] daughter of the contrarie famelie : so great was in those daies the [affection of *English* hearts,] towards the line of *Lan*; for y<sup>e</sup> great worthines of [such Kings as had raigned of that] race, how good or bad soeū their title were : w<sup>ch</sup> I stand [not here at this time to discusse] but onelie to insinuate, w<sup>t</sup> ptie the same found [in our Realme in times past, and conseq]uentlie how extreame daungerous y<sup>e</sup> contentiō [for the same may bee hereafter : especially] seing y<sup>t</sup> at this daie, y<sup>e</sup> remainder of y<sup>e</sup> title [is pretended to rest wholly in a stranger,] whose power is verie great. W<sup>ch</sup> we [lawyers are wont to esteeme as a point of no small] importaunce, for [justifying any mans title to a Kingdom.]

The Line of  
*Portugal*.

Schollar.

The sword of  
great force to  
justifie the  
title of a  
Kingdome.

[You Lawyers want not reason in that Sir (quoth I) howsoever you want right : for if you will examine the succession of governments, from the beginning of the World, unto this day, either among Gentile, Jewe, or Christian People, you shall find that the sword hath beene alwayes better than halfe the title, to get, establish, or maintaine a Kingdome: which maketh mee the more apalled to heare you discourse in such sort of new contentions, and forraine titles, accompanied with such power and strength of the titlers. Which cannot bee but infinitely dangerous and fatale to our Realme, if once it come to action, both for the division that is like to bee at home and the variety of parties from abroad. For as the Prince whom you signify, will not]

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faile (by all likelihoode) to pursue his title w<sup>th</sup> all forces y<sup>t</sup> he can make if [occasion were of] fred: so reason of state and pollicie will inforce other Princes adioyning, to lett & hinder [him] therin w<sup>t</sup> they can: and so by this meanes shall we become *Iuda* and *Israell* among [ourselves,] one killing & vexing another w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> sworde, and to forraine princes we shalbe as y<sup>e</sup> [Iland] of *Salamina* was in old time to ye *Athenians* and *Megarians*: and as y<sup>e</sup> Iland of [*Cecilia*] was afterwarde to y<sup>e</sup> *Gretians*, *Carthaginians*, and *Romaines*: and as in our daies, [the] Kingdome of *Naples* hath ben to y<sup>e</sup> *Spaniards*, *Frenchmen*, *Germanes* & *Venitians*. [That is] a baite to feede vpon, and a game to fight for. Wherfor I beseech the Lord to averte from vs [all] occasions of such miseries. And I praie yo<sup>u</sup> S<sup>t</sup>, for y<sup>t</sup> we are fallen into mentiō of these matters, to take somuch paines as to open vnto me y<sup>e</sup> ground of theise <sup>controusies,</sup> so long now [quiet] betweene *Yorke* and *Lancaster*: seing they are now like to be raised againe. For albeit in generall I haue heard much therof, in pticuler, I either conceiue no<sup>t</sup>, or imagine [not,] ye foundacon of y<sup>e</sup> same: and much lesse y<sup>e</sup> state of their seūall titles at this daie, for y<sup>t</sup> it is a studie no<sup>t</sup> pplie pteyning vnto my pfessiō.

Great  
dangers.

Lawyer.

The begin-  
ning of the  
controverisie  
betwixt *York*  
and *Lancaster*.

*Edmond*  
*Crookeback*  
beginner of  
the House of  
*Lancaster*.

*Blanch*.  
*John* of *Gaunt*.

The controūsie betwixt y<sup>e</sup> House of *Yorke* and *Lanc* (quoth Lawier) tooke his actuall begining in y<sup>e</sup> issue of K. *Ed* 3, who died somew<sup>t</sup> more then 200 yeares agone: but y<sup>e</sup> occasiō, ptence or cause of quarrell, began, in the children of K. *H.* 3, who died a 100 yeares before y<sup>t</sup> & lefte 2 sonns, *Edward* who was K. after him, by y<sup>e</sup> name of <sup>*Edward*</sup> y<sup>e</sup> first, and Grandfather to *Ed* 3: and *Ed*[mond (for] his deformitie called *Crookebacke*) Earle of *Lanc*: and beginer of y<sup>t</sup> house, whose inheritance afterwards in the 4<sup>th</sup> descen<sup>t</sup> fell vpon a Daughter named *Blaunch*, who was married to y<sup>e</sup> [fourth] sonne of K. *Ed*: 3, named *Iohn* of *Gaunt*, for y<sup>t</sup> he was borne in y<sup>e</sup> Cittie of *Gaunt* in *Flanders*, and so by this his first wife he became D. of *Lanc*: and heire of y<sup>t</sup> house. And for y<sup>t</sup> his sonne *H.* [of] *Bollingbrooke* (afterward called King *H.* 4) ptended among

How the  
King's  
ome  
was first  
brought to  
the House of  
Lancaster.

other things y<sup>t</sup> *Edm: Crookebacke*, great Graundfather to *Blaunch* his mother, was y<sup>e</sup> oldest Sonne of K. H. 3, and vniustlie put by y<sup>e</sup> inheritaunce of y<sup>e</sup> Crowne, for y<sup>t</sup> he was Crookebacked and deformed: he tooke by force [the] Kingdome from *Ric* y<sup>e</sup> 2, Nephew to K. *Ed*: 3 by his first Sonne, & placed y<sup>e</sup> same in y<sup>e</sup> house of *Lanc*, where it remained for 3 whole dissents, vntill afterwards, *Ed. D. of Yorke* descended of *Iohn* of *Gaunts* yonger brother, making claime to y<sup>e</sup> Crowne by title of his Grandmo<sup>ther</sup>, y<sup>t</sup> was heire to *Lionell D. of Clarence*, *Iohn* of *Gaunts* elder Brother: tooke y<sup>e</sup> same by force from *H. 6* of y<sup>e</sup> House of *Lanc* & brought it backe againe to y<sup>e</sup> House of *Yorke*: where it continued w<sup>th</sup> much trouble in 2 Kings onelie, vntill both Houses were ioyned together in K. H. 7 and his noble issue.

The issue of  
*Iohn* of *Gaunt*.

Hereby we see how y<sup>e</sup> issue of *Iohn* of *Gaunt D. of Lanc*, 4 Sonne to K. *Ed*. 3, ptended [right to the] Crowne by *Edm: Crookebacke*, before y<sup>e</sup> issue of all the other 3 sonnes of *Ed*. 3, albeit [they were] the elder brothers, whereof we will speake more hereafter. Now *Iohn* of *Gaunt* though he [had] manie children, yett had he foure onelie of whom issue remaine, 2 Sonnes & 2 Daughters. [The] first Sonne was *H. of Bollingbroke Duke of Lanc*, who tooke y<sup>e</sup> Crowne from *Ric* [the second, his Unkles] Sonne, as hath ben saied, & first planted y<sup>t</sup> same in y<sup>e</sup> House of *Lanc*: y<sup>t</sup> [remained in two discent<sup>s</sup>] after him, y<sup>t</sup> is in *H.* his Sonne *H. 5*, & in his Nephewe *H. 6*, who afterward [was destroyed together] w<sup>th</sup> *Ed.* Prince of *Wales*, his onelie Sonne and heire, & consequentlie [all that Line of *Henry*] *Bollingbrooke* extinguished, by *Ed.* 4 of y<sup>e</sup> House of *Yorke*.

The pedegree  
of King *Henry*  
the 7.

The other Sonne of *Iohn* of *Gaunt* was *Iohn D. of Somsett* by *Katherine* [*Sinsford*, his third wife:] *Iohn* had issue another *Iohn*, and he, *Margarett* his Daughter and [heir, who being married] to *Edmond Tedeer*, Earle of *Rich*, had issue *H. Earle of Rich*, who [after was named King *Henry VII.*, whose] line yett endureth.

The two  
Daughters  
married to  
*Portugall* and  
*Castile*.

The Daughters of *Iohn* of *Gaunt*, were married to *Port[ugall]* and *Castile*: that is, *Philip* born of] *Blaunch*, heire to *Edm Crookebacke*, as hath ben [said, was married to *John* King of *Portugal*, of whom is descended] y<sup>e</sup> K. y<sup>t</sup> now possesseth *Por*: and [the other Princes which have or may make title to the same: and *Katherin*] borne of consequence

Forraine  
titles.

Heir of *Castile* was married back againe to *Henry* King of *Castile* in *Spaine*, of whom King *Philip* is also descended. So that by this, wee see, where the remainder of the House of *Lancaster* resteth, if the Line of King *Henry* the seventh were extinguished: and what pretext forraine Princes may have to subdue us, if my Lord of *Huntington* either now or after her Majesties dayes, will open to them the doore, by shutting out the rest of King *Henries* Line, and by drawing back the title to the onely House of *Yorke* againe: which hee pretendeth to doe, upon this that I will now declare.

The issue of  
King *Edward*  
the 3.

King *Edward* the third, albeit hee had many children, yet five onely will wee speake of, at this time. Whereof three were elder then *Iohn* of *Gaunt*, and one yonger. The first of the elder, was named *Edward* the black Prince, who died before his Father, leaving one onely Sonne named *Richard* who afterward being King and named *Richard* the second, was deposed without issue, and put to death by his Cosin germain, named *Henry Bolingbrooke Duke of Lancaster*, Sonne to *John* of *Gaunt* as hath beene said, and so there ended the Line of King *Edwards* first Son.

King *Edwards* second Sonne, was *William* of *Hatfield* that died without issue.

His third Sonne, was *Leonell* Duke of *Clarence*, whose onely Daughter and Heire called *Philip*, was married to *Edmond Mortimer* Earle of *March*: and after that, *Anne* the Daughter and Heire *Mortimer*, was married to *Richard Plantaginet* Duke of *Yorke*, Sonne and Heire to *Edmond* of *Langley* the first Duke of *Yorke*: which *Edmond* was the fift Sonne of King *Edward* the third, and yonger Brother to *Iohn* of *Gaunt*. And this *Edmond* of *Langley* may bee called the first beginnner of the House of *Yorke*: even as *Edmond Croockback* the beginner of the House *Lancaster*.

Two *Edmonds* the two beginners of the two Houses of *Lancaster* and *Yorke*.

This *Edmond Langley* then, having a Sonne named *Richard*, that married *Anne Mortimer* sole Heire to *Leonell* Duke of *Clarence*, joyned two Lines and two Titles in one: I meane the Line of *Leonell* and of *Edmond Langley*, who were (as hath beene said) the third and the fift Sonnes to King *Edward* the third. And for this cause, the child that was borne of this marriage, named after his Father *Richard Plantaginet* Duke of *Yorke*, seeing himselfe strong, and the first line of King *Edward* the thirds eldest Sonne, to bee extinguished in the death of King *Richard* the second: and seeing *William* of *Hatfield* the second Sonne dead likewise without issue: made demand of the Crowne for the House of *Yorke*, by the title of *Leonell* the third Sonne of King *Edward*. And albeit hee could not obtaine the same in his dayes, for that hee was slaine in a Battell against King *Henry* the sixt at *Wakefield*: yet his Sonne *Edward* got the same, and was called by the name of King *Edward* the fourth.

The claime and title of *Yorke*.

This King at his death left divers children, as namely two Sonnes, *Edward* the fift and his brother, who after were both murdered in the Tower, as shall bee showed: and also five Daughters: to wit *Elizabeth*, *Cicily*, *Anne*, *Katherine*, and *Briget*. Whereof, the first was married to *Henry* the seventh. The last became a Nunne, and the other three, were bestowed upon divers other husbands.

The issue of King *Edward* the fourth.

Hee had also two Brothers: the first was called *George* Duke of *Clarence*, who afterward upon his deserts (as is to bee supposed,) was put to death in *Callis*, by commandement of the King, and his attainer allowed by Parliament. And this man left behind him a Sonne named *Edward* Earle of *Warwick*, put to death afterward without issue, by King *Henry* the seventh, and a Daughter named *Margaret*, Countesse of *Salisbury*, who was married to a meane Gentleman named *Richard Poole*, by whom shee had issue Cardinall *Poole* that died without marriage, and *Henry Poole* that was attainted and executed in King *Henry* the eight his time (as also herselfe was) and this *Henry Poole* left a Daughter married afterward to the Earle of *Huntington*, by whom this Earle that now is maketh title to the Crowne. And this is the effect of my Lord of *Huntingtons* title.

The Duke of *Clarence*. attainted by Parliament.

*Huntingtons* title by the Duke of *Clarence*.

The second Brother of King *Edward* the fourth, was *Richard* Duke of *Glocester*, who after the Kings death, caused his two Sonnes to bee murdered in the Tower, and tooke the Kingdome to himselfe. And afterward hee being slaine by King *Henry* the seventh at *Bosworth-field*, left no issue behind him. Wherefore King *Henry* the seventh descending as hath beene shewed of the House of *Lancaster*, by *Iohn* of *Gaunts* last Sonne and third Wife, and taking to wife Lady *Elizabeth* Eldest Daughter of King *Edward* the fourth of the House of *Yorke*: joyned most hapyly the two Families together, and made an end of all controversies about the title.

King *Richard* the third.

The happy conjunction of the two Houses.

Now King *Henry* the seventh had issue three Children: of whom remaineth posterity. First, *Henry* the eighth, of whom is descended our soveraigne, her Majesty

The issue of King *Henry* the seventh.

*Leycester's Commonwealth.*

The Line  
and Title of  
Scotland by  
*Margaret*  
eldest  
Daughter to  
King *Henry*  
the 7.

that now happily raigneth, and is the last that remaineth alive of that first Line. Secondly, hee had two Daughters: whereof the first named *Margaret*, was married twice, first to *Iames* King of *Scotland* from whom are directly discended the Queene of *Scotland* that now liveth and her Sonne: and King *Iames* being dead, *Margaret* was married againe to *Archibald Douglas* Earle of *Anguish*: by whom shee had a Daughter named *Margaret*, which was married afterward, to *Mathew Steward* Earle of *Lenox*, whose Sonne *Charles Steward*, was married to *Elizabeth Candish* Daughter to the present Countesse of *Shrewsbury*, and by her hath left his onely Heire, a little Daughter named *Arbella*, of whom you have heard some speech before. And this is touching the Line of *Scotland*, descending from the first and eldest Daughter of King *Henry* the seventh.

*Arbella.*

The Line and  
Title of  
*Suffolke* by  
*Mary*, second  
Daughter to  
King *Henry*  
the seventh.

The second Daughter of King *Henry* the seventh called *Mary*, was twice married also: first to the King of *France* by whom shee had no issue: and after his death to *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolke*, by whom shee had two Daughters, that is, *Francis*, of which the Children of my Lord of *Hartford* doe make their claime: and *Elenore* by whom the issue of the Earle of *Darby* pretendeth right, as shall bee declared. For that *Francis* the first Daughter of *Charles Brandon* by the Queene of *France*, was married to the Marquesse of *Dorset*, who after *Charles Brandons* death was made Duke of *Suffolke* in right of his Wife, and was beheaded in Queene *Maries* time, for his conspiracy with my Lord of *Leycesters* Father. And shee had by this man three Daughters: that is, *Iane*, that was married to my Lord of *Leycesters* Brother, and proclaimed Queene after King *Edwards* death, for which both shee and her husband were executed: *Katherine* the second Daughter, who had two Sonnes, yet living, by the Earle of *Hartford*: and *Mary* the third Daughter, which left no Children.

The issue of  
*Francis*, eldest  
Daughter  
to *Charles*  
*Brandon* Duke  
of *Suffolke*.

The issue of  
*Elenor* second  
daughter to  
*Charles*  
*Brandon*.

The other Daughter of *Charles Brandon* by the Queene of *France* called *Elenor*, was married to *George Clifford* Earle of *Cumberland*, who left a Daughter by her named *Margaret*, married to the Earle of *Darby*, which yet liveth and hath issue. And this is the title of all the House of *Suffolke*, descended from the second Daughter of King *Henry* the seventh, married (as hath beene shewed) to *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolke*. And by this, you see also how many there bee, who doe thinke their titles to bee sat before that of my Lord of *Huntingtons*, if either right, law, reason, or consideration of home affaires may take place in our Realme: or if not, yet you cannot but imagine how many great Princes and Potentates abroad, are like to joyne and buckle with *Huntingtons* Line for the preeminence: if once the matter fall againe to contention by excluding the Line of King *Henry* the seventh which God forbid.

*Schollar.*

*Huntington*  
behind many  
other titles.

Truly Sir (quoth I) I well perceive that my Lords turne is not so nigh as I had thought, whether hee exclude the Line of King *Henry*, or no. For if hee exclude that, then must hee enter the Cumbat with forraine titlers of the House of *Lancaster*: and if hee exclude it not, then in all apparance of reason and in Law to (as you have said) the succession of the two Daughters of King *Henry* the seventh (which you distinguish by the two names of *Scotland* and *Suffolke*) must needs bee as clearely before him and his Line, that descendeth onely from *Edward* the fourth his Brother: as the Queenes title that now raigneth is before him. For that both *Scotland*, *Suffolke*, and her Majesty doe hold all by one foundation, which is, the union of both Houses and Titles together, in King *Henry* the seventh her Majesties Grandfather.

*Gentleman.*

This is true (quoth the Gentleman) and evident enough in every mans eye: and

therefore no doubt, but that as much is meant against her Majesty if occasion serve, as against the rest that hold by the same title. Albeit her Majesties state (the Lord bee praised) bee such at this time, as it is not safety to pretend so much against her, as against the rest, whatsoever bee meant. And that in truth, more should bee meant against her highnesse, then against all the rest, there is this reason: for that her Majesty by her present possession letteth more their desires, then all the rest together with there future pretences. But as I have said, it is not safety for them, nor yet good policy to declare openly, what they meane against her Majesty: It is the best way for the present, to hew downe the rest, and to leave her Majesty, for the last blow and upshote to their game. For which cause, they will seeme to make great difference at this day, betweene her Majesties title, and the rest, that descend in likewise from King *Henry* the seventh: avowing the one, and disallowing the other. Albeit, my Lord of *Leycesters* Father, preferred that of *Suffolke*, when time was, before this of her Majesty, and compelled the whole Realme to sweare thereunto. Such is the variable policy of men, that serve the time, or rather, that serve themselves, of all times, for their purposes.

The policy of the Conspiratours for the deceiving of her Majesty.

I remember (quoth I) that time of the Duke, and was present my selfe, at some of his Proclamations for that purpose. Wherein my Lord his Sonne that now liveth: being then a doer, (as I can tell hee was:) I marvaile how hee can deale so contrary now: preferring not onely her Majesties title before that of *Suffolke* (whereof I wonder lesse because it is more gainefull to him,) but also another much further of. But you have signified the cause, in that the times are changed, and other bargaines are in hand of more importance for him. Wherefore leaving this to bee considered by others, whom it concerneth, I beseech you, Sir, (for that I know, your worship hath beene much conversant among their friends and favourers) to tell mee what are the barres and lettes which they doe alleadge, why the House of *Scotland* and *Suffolke* descending of King *Henry* the seventh his Daughters, should not succeed in the Crowne of *England* after her Majesty, who endeth the Line of the same King by his Sonne: for in my sight the matter appeareth very plaine.

Schollar.

*Leycesters* variabilitie.

They want not pretences of barres and lets against them all (quoth the Gentleman) which I will lay downe in order, as I have heard them alledged. First in the Line of *Scotland* there are three persons as you know that may pretend right: that is, the Queene and her sonne by the first mariage of *Margaret*, and *Arbella* by the second. And against the first marriage I heare nothing affirmed: but against the two persons proceeding thereof, I heare them alledge three stops: one, for that they are strangers borne out of the land, and consequently incapable of inheritance within the same: another, for that by a speciall testament of King *Henry* 8. authorized by 2. severall Parliaments they are excluded: the third for that they are enemies to the religion now received among us, & therefore to be debarred.

Gentleman.

Barres pretended against the claime of *Scotland* and *Suffolke*.

Against the Queene of *Scotland* and her sonne.

Against the second marriage of *Margaret* with *Archibald Douglas*, whereof *Arbella* is descended, they alledge, that the said *Archibald* had a former wife at the time of that marriage, which lived long after: & so neither that marriage lawful, nor the issue thereof legitimate.

Against *Arbella*.

The same barre they have against all the house and Line of *Suffolk*, for first they say, that *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolke*, had a knowen wife alive when he married



*Leycester's Commonwealth.*

Against  
Darby.

Against the  
children of  
Hartford.

*Mary* Queene of *France*, and consequently, that neither the Lady *Frances* nor *Elenor*, borne of that marriage, can be lawfully borne. And this is all, I can heare them say against the succession of the Countesse of *Darby* descended of *Elenor*. But against my Lord of *Hartfords* children, that come from *Frances* the eldest daughter, I heare them alledge two or three bastardies more besides this of the first marriage, For first, they affirme that *Henry* Marquesse *Dorset*, when he married the Lady *Frances*, had to wife the old Earle of *Arundels* sister, who lived both then and many yeares after, and had a provision out of his living to her dying day: whereby that marriage could no way be good. Secondly, that the Lady *Katherine* daughter to the said Lady *Frances*, by the Marques (by whom the Earle of *Hartford* had his children) was lawfully married to the Earle of *Pembroke* that now liveth, & consequently, could have no lawfull issue by any other during his life. 3ly. that the said *Katherine* was never lawfully married to the said Earle of *Hartford*, but bare him those children as his Concubine, which (as they say) is desined and registred in the Archbishop of *Canterburies* court, upon due examination taken by order of her Majesty that now reigneth, and this is in effect so much as I have heard them alledge, about these affaires.

Scholler.

Leicesters  
dealing with  
the house of  
Suffolke.

It is much (quoth I) that you have said, if it may be all proved, Marry yet by the way, I cannot but smile to heare my Lord of *Leicester* allow of so many bastardies now upon the issue of Ladie *Frances*, whom in time past, when *Iane* her eldest daughter was married to his brother, he advanced in legitimation before both the daughters of King *Henry* the eight. But to the purpose: I would gladly know what grounds of veritie these allegations have, and how far in truth they may stoppe from inheritance: for indeed I never heard them so distinctly alledged before.

Gentleman.

Bastardy.

Forrain birth.

Whereto answered the Gentleman, that our friend the Lawyer could best resolve that, if it pleased him to speake without his fee: though in some points alledged every other man (quoth he) that knoweth the state and common government of *England*, may easily give his judgement also. As in the case of bastardie, if the matter may be proved, there is no difficulty, but that no right to inheritance can justly be pretended: as also (perhaps) in the case of forraine birth, though in this I am not so cunning: but yet I see by experience, that forreiners borne in other lands, can hardly come and claime inheritance in *England*, albeit, to the contrary, I have heard great and long disputes, but such as indeed passed my capacity. And if it might please our friend here present to expound the thing unto us more clearly: I for my part would gladly bestow the hearing, and that with attention.

Lawyer.

To this answered the Lawyer. I will gladly, Sir, tel you my mind in any that it shall please you demand: and much more in this matter wherein by occasion of often conference, I am somewhat perfect.

Bastardies  
lawfull stops.

The impediments which these men alledge against the succession of K. *Henry* the 8 his sisters, are of two kindes, as you see: The one knowen and allowed in our law, as you have well said, if it may bee proved: and that is bastardie: whereby they seeke to disable all the whole Line and race of *Suffolke*: as also *Arbella*, of the second and later house of *Scotland*. Whereof it is to small purpose to speake any thing here: feeling the whole controversie standeth upon a matter of fact onely, to be proved or improved by records and witnesses. Onely this I will say, that some of these bastardies, before named, are rife in many mens mouths, and avowed by divers that yet live:



but let other men looke to this, who have most interest therein, and may bee most damnified by them, if they fall out true.

The other impediments, which are alleadged onely against the Queene of *Scots* and her Sonne, are in number three, as you recite them: that is, forraine birth, King *Henries* Testament and Religion: whereof I am content to say some what, seeing you desire it: albeit there bee so much published already in bookes of divers languages beyond the sea, as I am informed, concerning this matter, as more cannot bee said. But yet so much as I have heard passe among Lawyers my betters, in conference of these affaires: I will not let to recite unto you, with this Proviso and Protestation alwayes, that what I speake, I speake by way of recitall of other mens opinions: not meaning my selfe to incurre the statute of affirming or avowing any persons title to the Crowne, whatsoever.

The impediments against *Scotland* three in number.

A protestation.

First then touching forraine birth, there bee some men in the World that will say, that it is a common and general rule of our law, that no stranger at all may inherit any thing, by any meanes, within the Land: which in truth I take to bee spoken without ground, in that generall sense. For I could never yet come to the sight of any such common or universall rule: and I know, that divers examples may bee alleadged in sundry cases to the contrary: and by that, which is expresly set downe in the seventh and ninth yeares of King *Edward* the fourth, and in the eleventh and foureteenth of *Henry* the fourth, it appeareth plainly that a stranger may purchase lands in *England*, as also inherite by his Wife, if hee marry an inheritrix. Wherefore this common rule is to bee restrained from that generality, unto proper inheritance onely: in which sense I doe easily grant, that our Common law hath beene of ancient, and is at this day, that no person borne out of the allegiance of the King of *England* whose Father and Mother were not of the same allegiance at the time of his birth, shall bee able to have or demand any heritage within the same allegiance, as heire to any person. And this rule of our Common law is gathered in these selfe same words of a statute made in the five and twentieth yeare of King *Edward* the third, which indeed is the onely place of effect, that can bee alleadged out of our law against the inheritance of strangers in such sense and cases, as wee now treat of.

Touching the first impediment of forraigne birth.

An Alien may purchase.

The true Maxima against Aliens.

The statute of King *Edward* whence the Maxima is gathered.

And albeit now the Common law of our Countrey, doe runne thus in generall, yet will the friends of the *Scottish* claime affirme, that hereby that title is nothing let or hindred at all towards the Crowne: and that for divers manifest and weighty reasons: whereof the principall are these which ensue.

Reasons why the *Scottish* title is not letted by the Maxima against Aliens.

First it is common, and a generall rule of our *English* lawes, that no Rule, Axiome, or Maxima of law (bee it never so generall) can touch or bind the Crowne, except expresse mention bee made thereof, in the same: for that the King and Crowne have great priviledge and prerogative, above the state and affaires of subjects, and great differences allowed in points of law.

The first reason.

As for example, it is a generall and common rule of law, that the wife after the decease of her husband, shall enjoy the third of his lands: but yet the Queene shall not enjoy the third part of the Crowne, after the Kings death: as well appeareth by experience, and is to bee seene by Law, *Anno* 5. and 21. of *Edward* the third: and *Anno* 9. and 28. of *Henry* the sixth. Also it is a common rule, that the Husband shall hold his wives lands after her death: as tenant by courtesie during his life, but yet it holdeth not in a Kingdome.

The rule of thirds.

Tenant by courtesie.

Division  
among  
daughters.

Executors.

In like manner, it is a generall and common rule, that if a man die seased of Land in Fee simple, having Daughters and no Sonne: his lands shall bee devided by equall portions among his Daughters: which holdeth not in the Crowne: but rather the eldest Daughter inheriteth the whole, as if shee were the issue male. So also it is a common rule of our law, that the executour shall have all the goods and chattels of the Testatour, but yet not in the Crowne. And so in many other cases which might bee recited, it is evident that the Crowne hath priviledge above others, and can bee subject to rule, bee it never so generall, except expresse mention bee made thereof in the same law: as it is not in the former place and a statute alleaged: but rather to the contrary, (as after shall bee shewed) there is expresse exception, for the prerogative of such as descend of Royall blood.

The 2 reason.  
The Crowne  
no such  
inheritance  
as is meant in  
the statute.

The Crown a  
corporation.

Their second reason is, for that the demand or title of a Crowne, cannot in true sense bee comprehended under the words of the former statute, forbidding Aliens to demand heritage within the allegiance of *England*: and that for two respects. The one, for that the Crowne it selfe cannot bee called an heritage of allegiance or within allegiance, for that it is holden of no superiour upon earth, but immediately from God himselfe: the second, for that this statute treateth onely and meaneth of inheritance by descent, as Heire to the same, (for I have shewed before that Aliens may hold lands by purchase within our Dominion) and then say they, the Crowne is a thing incorporate and descendeth not according to the common course of other private inheritances: but goeth by succession, as other incorporations doe. In signe whereof, it is evident, that albeit, the King bee more favoured in all his doings then any common person shall bee: yet cannot hee avoid by law his grants and letters patents by reason of his nonage (as other infants and common heires under age may doe) but alwayes bee said to bee of full age in respect of his Crowne: even as a Prior, Parson, Vicar, Deane, or other person incorporate shall bee, which cannot by any meanes in law bee said, to bee within age, in respect of their incorporations.

Which thing maketh an evident difference in our case, from the meaning of the former statute: for that a Prior, Deane, or Parson, being Aliens and no Denizens: might alwayes in time of peace, demand lands in *England*, in respect of their corporations, notwithstanding the said statute or common law against Aliens, as appeareth by many booke cases yet extant: as also by the statute made in the time of King *Richard* the second, which was after the foresaid statute of King *Edward* the third.

The third  
reason.  
The Kings  
issue excepted  
by name.

*Libetorum. F.  
de verb. sign.*

The third reason is, for that in the former statute it selfe, of King *Edward*, there are excepted expresly from this generall rule, *Infantes du Roy*, that is, the Kings offspring or issue, as the word *Infant* doth signifie, both in *France*, *Portugall*, *Spaine*, and other Countries: and as the latin word *Liberi* (which answereth the same) is taken commonly in the Civill law. Neither may wee restraine the french words of that statute *INFANTES DV ROY*, to the Kings children only of the first degree (as some doe, for that the barrenesse of our language doth yeeld us no other word for the same) but rather, that thereby are understood, as well the Nephewes and other discendants of the King or blood Royal, as his immediate children. For it were both unreasonable and ridiculous to imagine, that King *Edward* by this statute, would goe about to disinherit his owne nephewes, if hee should have any borne out of his owne allegiance (as easily he might at that time) his sonnes being much abroad from *England*, and the

blacke Prince his eldest sonne having two children borne beyond the seas: and consequently, it is apparent, that this rule or Maxime set downe against Aliens is no way to be stretched against the descendants of the King or of the blood Royall.

Their fourth reason is, that the meaning of King *Edward* and his children (living at such time as this statute was made) could not be, that any of their lineage or issue might be excluded in law, from inheritance of their right to the Crowne, by their forreine birth wheresoever. For otherwise, it is not credible that they would so much have dispersed their own blood in other countries, as they did: by giving their daughters to strangers, and other meanes. As *Leonel* the kings third sonne was married in *Millan*: and *Iohn* of *Gaunt* the fourth sonne gave his two daughters, *Philip* and *Katherine* to *Portugall* and *Castile*: and his neice *Ioan* to the King of Scots: as *Thomas* of *Woodstocke* also the youngest brother, married his two daughters, the one to the King of *Spaine*, and the other to Duke of *Brittaine*. Which no doubt (they being wise Princes, and so neere of the blood Royal) would never have done: if they had imagined that hereby their issue should have lost all clayme and title to the Crowne of *England*: and therefore it is most evident, that no such barre was then extant or imagined.

The fourth  
reason.  
The Kings  
meaning.

The matches  
of England  
with  
forrainers.

Their fift reason is, that divers persons borne out of all English dominion and allegiance, both before the conquest and since, have beene admitted to the succession of our Crowne, as lawfull inheritors, without any exception against them for their forraine birth. As before the conquest is evident in young *Edgar Etheling* borne in *Hungarie*, and thence called home to inherit the Crowne, by his great Vncle King *Edward* the Confessor, with full consent of the whole Realme, the Bishop of *Worcester* being sent as Ambassadour to fetch him home, with his father named *Edward* the out-law.

The fift  
reason.  
Examples of  
forrainers  
admitted.

*Flores hist.*  
*An. 1066.*

And since the conquest, it appeareth plainly in King *Stephen* and King *Henry* the second, both of them borne of English dominions, and of Parents, that at their birth, were not of the English allegiance: and yet were they both admitted to the Crowne. Young *Arthur* also Duke of *Bretaigne* by his mother *Constance* that matched with *Geffray* King *Henry* the seconds sonne, was declared by King *Richard* his Vncle, at his departure towards *Ierusalem*, and by the whole Realme, for lawfull heire apparent to the Crowne of *England*, though he were borne in *Brittaine* out of English allegiance, and so he was taken and adjudged by all the world at that day: albeit after King *Richards* death, his other Vncle *Iohn*, most tyrannously took both his kingdome and his life from him. For which notable injustice he was detested of all men both abroad and at home: and most apparently scourged by God, with grievous and manifold plagues, both upon himselfe and upon the Realme, which yeelded to his usurpation. So that by this also it appeareth, what the practice of our countrey hath beene from time to time in this case of forraine birth: which practice is the best Interpreter of our common English law: which dependeth especially, and most of all, upon custome: nor can the adversary alleage any one example to the contrary.

*Pol. lib. 15.*  
*Flov. hist.*  
*1208.*

King *John*  
a Tyrant.

Their sixt, is of the judgement and sentence of King *Henry* the seventh, and of his Councill: who being together in consultation, at a certaine time about the mariage of *Margaret* his eldest daughter into *Scotland*: some of his Councill moved this doubt, what should ensue, if by chance the Kings issue male should faile, and so the

The sixt  
reason.  
The judge-  
ment and  
sentence of  
K. *Henry* the  
seventh.

succession devolve to the heires of the said *Margaret*, as now it doth? Whereunto that wise and most prudent Prince made answer: that if any such event should be, it could not be prejudiciall to *England*, being the bigger part, but rather beneficiall: for that it should draw *Scotland* to *England*: that is, the lesser to the more: even as in times past it hapned in *Normandy*, *Aquitane*, and some other Provinces. Which answer appeased all doubts, and gave singular content to those of his Councell, as *Polidore* writeth, that lived at that time, and wrote the speciall matters of that reigne, by the Kings owne instruction. So that hereby wee see no question made of King *Henry* or his Counsellors touching forraine birth, to let the succession of Lady *Margarets* issue: which no doubt would never have beene omitted in that learned assembly, if any law at that time had been esteemed or imagined to barre the same.

The seventh  
reason.  
The Q. of  
Scots and her  
sonne no  
Aliens.

And these are sixe of their principalest reasons, to prove, that neither by the words nor meaning of our common lawes, nor yet by custome or practice of our Realme, an Alien may be debarred from claime of his interest to the Crowne, when it falleth to him by rightfull descent in blood and succession. But in the particular case of the Queene of Scots and her sonne, they doe adde another reason or two: thereby to prove them in very deed to be no Aliens. Not onely in respect of their often and continuall mixture with English blood from the beginning (and especially of late, the Queenes Grandmother and husband being English, and so her sonne begotten of an English father) but also for two other causes and reasons, which seeme in truth of very good importance.

The first is, for that *Scotland* by all English men, (howsoever the Scots deny the same) is taken and holden as subject to *England* by way of Homage: which many of their Kings, at divers times have acknowledged: and consequently, the Queene and her sonne being borne in *Scotland*, are not borne out of the allegiance to *England*, and so no forrainers.

The second cause or reason is, for that the forenamed statute of Forrainers in the five and twenty yeare of King *Edward* the third, is intituled *of those that are borne beyond the seas*. And in the body of the same statute, the doubt is moved of children borne out of English allegiance beyond the seas: whereby cannot be understood *Scotland*, for that it is a peece of the continent land within the seas. And all our old Records in *England*, that talke of service to be done within these two-countries: have usually these latine words, *Infra quatuor maria*, or in French, *deins lez quatre mers*, that is, within the foure seas: whereby must needs be understood as well *Scotland* as *England*, and that perhaps for the reason before mentioned, of the subjection of *Scotland* by way of Homage to the Crowne of *England*. In respect whereof it may be, that it was accounted of old, but one dominion or allegiance. And consequently, no man borne therein can be accounted an Alien to *England*. And this shall suffice for the first point, touching forraine Nativity.

The second  
impediment  
against the  
Q. of Scots.  
and her son  
which is K.  
*Henry* the  
eight his  
Testament.

For the second impediment objected, which is the Testament of King *Henry* the eight, authorized by Parliament, whereby they affirme the succession of *Scotland* to bee excluded: it is not precisely true that they are excluded, but onely that they are put back behind the succession of the house of *Suffolke*. For in that pretended Testament (which after shall be proved to be none indeed) King *Henry* so disposeth, that after his owne children (if they should chance to die without issue) the Crowne shall passe to

the heires of *Frances*, and of *Elenore*, his neices by his younger sister *Mary* Queene of *France*: and after them (deceasing also without issue) the succession to returne to the next heires againe. Whereby it is evident, that the succession of *Margaret* Queene of *Scotland* his eldest sister is not excluded: but thrust back only from their due place and order, to expect the remainder, which may in time be left by the younger. Whereof in mine opinion doe ensue some considerations against the present pretenders themselves.

First, that in King *Henries* judgement, the former pretended rule of forraine birth, was no sufficient impediment against *Scotland*: for if it had beene no doubt, but that he would have named the same in his alleaged testament, and thereby have utterly excluded that succession. But there is no such thing in the Testament.

Forrain birth  
no impedi-  
ment in the  
judgement of  
K. *Henry* the  
eight.

Secondly, if they admit this Testament, which allotteth the Crowne to *Scotland*, next after *Suffolke*: then, seeing that all the house of *Suffolke*, (by these mens assertion) is excluded by Bastardie: it must needs follow, that *Scotland* by their owne judgement is next, and so this Testament will make against them, as indeed it doth in all points most apparently, but only that it preferreth the house of *Suffolke*, before that of *Scotland*. And therefore (I thinke Sir) that you mistake somewhat about their opinion in alleaging this Testament. For I suppose, that no man of my Lord of *Huntingtons* faction, will alleage or urge the testimonie of this Testament: but rather some friend of the house of *Suffolke* in whose favour, I take it, that it was first of all forged.

The succes-  
sion of  
*Scotland* next  
by the  
judgement  
of the  
competitors.

It may be (quoth the Gentleman) nor will I stand obstinately in the contrary: for that it is hard, sometime to judge of what faction each one is, who discourseth of these affaires. But yet I marvell (if it were as you say) why *Leicesters* father after King *Edwards* death, made no mention thereof in the favour of *Suffolke*, in the other Testament which then he proclaymed, as made by King *Edward* deceased, for preferment of *Suffolke* before his owne sisters.

Gentleman.

The cause of this is evident (quoth the Lawyer) for that it made not sufficiently for his purpose: which was to disinherit the two daughters of King *Henry* himselfe, and advance the house of *Suffolke* before them both.

LAVV.

The Duke of  
*Northumber-*  
*lands* drift.

A notable change (quoth the Gentleman) that a title so much exalted of late by the father, above all order, right, ranke, and degree: should now be so much debased by the sonne, as though it were not worthy to hold any degree, but rather to be troden under foot for plaine bastardie. And you see by this, how true it is which I told you before: that the race of *Dudlies* are most cunning Merchants, to make their gaine of all things, men and times. And as wee have seene now two testaments alleaged, the one of the Kings father, and the other of the Kings sonne, and both of them in prejudice of the testators true successors: so many good subiects begin greatly to feare, that wee may chance to see shortly a third testament of her Maiesty for the intituling of *Huntington*, and extirpation of King *Henries* blood, and that before her Majesty can thinke of sicknesse: wherein I beseech the Lord I bee no Prophet. But now (Sir) to the foresaid Will and Testament of King *Henry*; I have often heard, in truth, that the thing was counterfeit, or at the least not able to bee proved: and that it was discovered, rejected, and defaced in Queene *Maries* time: but I would gladly understand what you Lawyers esteeme or judge thereof.

Gentleman.

The mutable  
dealing of the  
house of  
*Dudley*.

Touching this matter (quoth the Lawyer) it cannot bee denied, but that in the

Lawyer.

The authority  
and occasion  
of King  
*Henries*  
testament.

twenty and eight, and thirty and six yeares of King *Henries* raigne, upon consideration of some doubt and irresolution, which the King himselfe had shewed, to have about the order of succession in his owne children, as also for taking away all occasions of controversies in those of the next bloud: the whole Parliament gave authority unto the said King, to debate and determine those matters himselfe, together with his learned Councell, who best knew the lawes of the Realme, and titles that any man might have thereby: and that whatsoever succession his Majesty should declare as most right and lawfull under his letters patents sealed, or by his last will and testament rightfully made and signed with his owne hand: that the same should bee received for good and lawfull.

The Kings  
Testament  
forged.

Vpon pretence whereof, soone after King *Henries* death, there was shewed a will with the Kings stamp at the same, and the names of divers witnesses, wherein (as hath beene said) the succession of the Crowne, after the Kings owne children, is assigned to the Heires of *Frances* and of *Elenor*, Neeces to the King, by his yonger sister. Which assignation of the Crowne, being as it were a meere guift in prejudice of the elder sisters right (as also of the right of *Frances* and *Elenor* themselves, who were omitted in the same assignation, and their Heires intituled onely) was esteemed to bee against all reason, law, and nature, and consequently not thought to proceed from so wise and sage a Prince, as King *Henry* was knowne to bee: but rather, either the whole forged, or at leastwise that clause inserted by other, and the Kings stamp set unto it, after his death, or when his Majesty lay now past understanding. And hereof there wanteth not divers most evident reasons and proofes.

The first  
reason.  
Injustice  
and im-  
probability.

For first, it is not probable or credible, that King *Henry* would ever goe about, against law and reason, to disinherit the line of his eldest sister, without any profit or interest to himselfe: and thereby, give most evident occasion of Civill warre and discord within the Realme, seeing, that in such a case of manifest and apparent wrong, in so great a matter, the authority of Parliament, taketh little effect, against the true and lawfull inheritour: as well appeared in the former times and contentions of *Henry* the sixt, *Edward* the fourth, and *Richard* the third: in whose raignes, the divers and contrary Parliaments made and holden, against the next inheritour, held no longer with any man, then untill the other was able to make his owne party good.

The example  
of *France*.

So likewise, in the case of King *Edward* the third his succession to *France*, in the right of his Mother, though hee were excluded by the generall assembly and consent of their Parliaments: yet hee esteemed not his right extinguished thereby: as neither did other Kings of our Countrey that ensued after him. And for our present case, if nothing els should have restrained King *Henry*, from such open injustice towards his eldest sister: yet this cogitation, at least, would have stayed him: that by giving example of supplanting his elder sisters Line by vertue of a testament or pretence of Parliament: some other might take occasion to displace his children by like pretence: as wee see that Duke *Dudley* did soone after, by a forged testament of King *Edward* the sixt. So ready Schollars there are to bee found, which easily will learne such Lessons of iniquity.

The second  
reason.  
Incongruities  
and  
indignities.

Secondly, there bee too many incongruities aud indignities in the said predated Will to proceed from such a Prince and learned Councell as King *Henries* was. For first what can bee more ridiculous, then to give the Crowne unto the Heires of *Frances*

and *Elenor*, and not to any of themselves? or what had they offended that their Heires should enjoy the Crowne in their right and not they themselves? What if King *Henries* children should have died, whiles Lady *Francis* had beene yet alive? who should have possessed the Kingdome before her, seeing her Line was next? and yet by this testament shee could not pretend her selfe to obtaine it. But rather having married *Adrian Stokes* her Horsekeeper, shee must have suffered her Sonne by him (if shee had any) to enjoy the Crowne: and so *Adrian* of a serving man and Master of horses, should have become the great Master and Protectour of *England*. Of like absurdity is that other clause also, wherein the King bindeth his owne Daughters to marry, by consent and direction of his counsell, or otherwise to leese the benefit of their succession: but yet bindeth not his Neices Daughters, to wit, the Daughters of *Francis* and *Elenor* (if that they had any) to any such condition.

*Adrian Stokes.*

Thirdly, there may bee divers causes and arguments alleadged in law, why this pretended will is not authentickall: if otherwise, it were certaine that King *Henry* had meant it: First, for that it is not agreeable to the mind and meaning of the Parliament, which intended onely to give authority, for declaration and explication of the true title: and not for donation or intricating of the same, to the ruine of the Realme. Secondly, for that there is no lawfull and authentickall Copy extant thereof, but onely a bare inrolement in the Chancery, which is not sufficient in so weighty an affaire: no wnesse of the Privy Councell or of Nobility to the same: which had beene convenient in so great a case (for the best of the witnesses therein named, is Sir *Iohn Gates*, whose miserable death is well knowne:) no publike Notary: no Probation of the will before any Bishop, or any lawfull Court for that purpose: no examination of the witnesses: or other thing orderly done, for lawfull authorizing of the matter.

The third reason. The presupposed Will is not authentickall.

But of all other things this is most of importance: that the King never set his owne hand to the foresaid Will, but his stamp was put thereunto by others, either after his death, or when hee was past remembrance: as the late Lord *Paget* in the beginning of Queene *Maries* dayes, being of the Privy Councell, first of all other discovered the same, of his owne accord, and upon meere motion of conscience, confessing before the whole Councell, and afterward also before the whole Parliament, how that himselfe was privy thereunto, and partly also culpable, (being drawen thereunto, by the instigation and forcible authority of others:) but yet afterward upon other more godly motions detested the device: and so of his owne free will, very honorably went and offered the discovery thereof to the Councell. As also did Sir *Edward Montague*, Lord chiefe justice, that had beene privy and present at the said doings, and one *William Clarke*, that was the man that put the stamp unto the paper, and is ascribed among the other pretended witnesses, confessed the whole premisses to bee true, and purchased his pardon for his offence therein. Whereupon Queen *Mary* and her Councell, caused presently the said inrolement, lying in the Chancery, to be canceled, defaced and abolished.

The disproving of the Will by witnesses. The Lord *Paget*.

Sir *Edward Montague*.  
*William Clarke*.

And sithence that time in her Majesties dayes that now liveth about the 11. or 12. yeare of her raigne, (if I count not amisse) by occasion of a certaine little booke spread abroad at that time, very secretly, for advancing of the house of *Suffolke*, by pretence of this Testament: I remember well the place where the late Duke of *Norfolke*, the Marquesse of *Winchester* (which then was Treasurer) the old Earles of *Arundell* and

A meeting together about this matter of the nobility.



*Leycester's Commonwealth.*

*Penbrooke* that now are dead, with my Lord of *Penbrooke* that yet liveth, (as also my Lord of *Leycester* himselfe if I bee not deceived) with divers others, met together upon this matter: and after long conference about the foresaid pretended will, and many proofes and reasons laid downe, why it could not bee true or authentically: the old Earle of *Penbrooke* protesting that hee was with the King in his Chamber from the first day of his sicknesse unto his last houre, and thereby could well assure the falsification thereof: at length it was moved, that from that place they should goe, with the rest of the Nobility, and proclaime the Queene of *Scotland* heire apparent in *Cheapside*. Wherein my Lord of *Leycester* (as I take it) was then as forward as any man els: how bee it, now, for his profit, hee bee turned aside, and would turne back againe tomorrow next, for a greater commodity.

My Lord of  
*Leycester*  
again  
playeth  
double.

And albeit, for some causes to themselves best knowne, they proceeded not in the open publishing of their determination at that time: yet my Lord of *Penbrooke* now living, can beare witnesse that thus much is true: and that his Father the old Earle at that time, told him openly before the other Noblemen, that hee had brought him to that assembly and place, to instruct him in that truth, and to charge him, to witnesse the same, and to defend it also, with his sword (if need required) after his death. And I know that his Lordship is of that honour and nobility, as hee can not leave of easily the remembrance or due regard of so worthy an admonition. And this shall suffice for the second impediment, imagined to proceed of this supposed Testament of King *Henry* the eight.

The old Earle  
of *Pembrooks*  
admonition,  
to the Earle  
his Sonne yet  
living.

As for the third impediment, of religion, it is not generall to all: for that onely one person (if I bee not deceived) of all the Competitours in King *Henries* line, can bee touched with suspicion of different religion, from the present state of *England*. Which person notwithstanding (as is well knowne) while shee was in government in her owne Realme of *Scotland*, permitted all liberty of conscience, and free exercise of religion, to those of the contrary profession and opinion, without restraint. And if shee had not: yet do I not see, either by prescript of law, or practise of these our times, that diversity of religion, may stay just inheritours from enjoying their due possessions, in any state or degree of private men: and much lesse in the claime of a Kingdome: which alwayes in this behalfe (as hath beene said before) is preferred in priviledge.

The third  
impediment  
of Religion.

This wee see by experience, in divers Countries and parts of the World at this day: as in *Germany*, where among so many Princes, and so devided in religion as they bee: yet every one succeedeth to the state, whereunto hee hath right, without resistance for his religion. The examples also of her Majesty that now is, and of her sister before, is evident: who being knowne to bee of two different inclinations in religion, and the whole Realme devided in opinion for the same cause: yet both of them at their severall times with generall consent of all, were admitted to their lawfull inheritance: excepting onely a few \*traytours against the former, who withstood her right as also in her, the right of her Majesty that is present, and that not for religion (as appeared by their owne confession after) but for ambition and desire of raigne. Monsieur, the Kings brother and heire of *France*, as all the World knoweth, is well accepted, favored and admitted for successour of that Crowne, by all the Protestants at this day of that Countrey, notwithstanding his opinion in religion knowne to bee different. And I doubt not, but the King of *Navarre* or Prince of *Condy*, in the

Princes of  
*Germany*.

Queene *Mary*.  
Queene  
*Elizabeth*.

\* The *Dudleys*  
Monsieur.

King of  
*Navarre*  
Prince of  
*Condy*.



contrary part, would thinke themselves greatly injured by the state of *France*, which is different from them in religion at this day, if after the death of the King that now is and his brother without issue, (if God so dispose) they should bee barred from inheriting the Crowne, under pretence onely of their religion. My Lord of *Huntington* himselfe also, is hee not knowne to bee of a different religion from the present state of *England*? and that, if hee were King to morrow next, hee would alter the whole government, order, condition, and state of religion, now used and established, within the Realme?

My Lord of  
*Huntingtons*  
religion.

But as I said in the beginning, if one of a whole Family, or of divers Families, bee culpable, or to bee touched herein: what have the rest offended thereby? will you exclude all, for the mislike of one? And to descend in order: if the first in King *Henries* line, after her Majesty may bee touched in this point, yet, why should the rest hee damnified thereby? The King of *Scotland* her Sonne, that next ensueth (to speake in equity) why should hee bee shut out for his religion? And are not all the other in like manner Protestants, whose discent is consequent, by nature, order, and degree?

The title of  
those which  
ensue the  
Queene of  
*Scots*.

For the yong King of *Scotland* (quoth I) the truth is, that alwayes for mine owne part, I have had great hope and expectation of him, not onely for the conceipt which commonly men have of such Orient youths, borne to Kingdomes: but especially for that I understood from time to time, that his education was in all learning, princely exercises and instruction of true religion, under rare and vertuous men for that purpose. Whereby I conceived hope, that hee might not onely become in time, an honourable and profitable neighbour unto us, for assurance of the Gospell in these parts of the World: but also (if God should deprive us of her Majesty without issue) might bee a meane by his succession to unite in Concord and Government, the two Realmes together, which heretofore hath beene fought, by the price of many a thousand mens blood, and not obtained.

Schollar.

The yong  
King of  
*Scotland*.

Marry yet now of late (I know not by what meanes) there is begun in mens hearts a certain mislike or grudge against him, for that it is given out every where that hee is inclined to bee a Papist, and an enemy to her Majesties proceedings. Which argueth him verily, of singular ingratitude, if it bee true, considering the great helps and protection which hee hath received from her highnesse ever sithence hee was borne.

And are you so simple (quoth the Gentleman) as to beleieve every report that you heare of this matter? know you not, that it is expedient for my Lord of *Leycester* and his faction, that this youth, above all other, bee held in perpetuall disgrace with her Majesty and with this Realme? You know, that *Richard* of *Glocester* had never beene able to have usurped as hee did, if hee had not first perswaded King *Edward* the fourth to hate his owne Brother the Duke of *Clarence*, which Duke stood in the way, betweene *Richard* and the thing, which hee most of all things coveted. That is, the possibility to the Crowne, and so in this case is there the like device to bee observed.

Gentleman.

The device to  
set out her  
Majesty with  
the yong King  
of *Scotland*.

For truly, for the yong King of *Scotlands* religion, it is evident to as many as have reason, that it can bee no other of it selfe but inclined to the best: both in respect of his education, instruction, and conversation, with those of true religion: as also by his former Actions, Edicts, Government, and private behaviour, hee hath declared. Marry these men whose profit is nothing lesse, then that hee or any other of that race should doe well: doe not cease dayly by all secret wayes, drifts, and molestations

possible, to drive him either to mislike of our religion, or els to incurre the suspicion thereof, with such of our Realme, as otherwise would bee his best friends: or if not this: yet for very need and feare of his owne life, to make recourse to such other Princes abroad, as may most offend or mislike this state.

The  
intollerable  
proceedings  
of certain  
Ministers in  
*Scotland*  
against their  
King by  
subordination  
of his enemies  
in *England*.

And for this cause, they suborne certaine busie fellowes of their owne crew and faction, pertaining to the ministry of *Scotland*, (but unworthy of so worthy a calling) to use such insolency towards their King and Prince, as is not onely undecent, but intollerable. For hee may doe no thing, but they will examine and discusse the same in Pulpit. If hee goe but on hunting, when it pleaseth them to call him to their preaching: if hee make but a dinner or supper, when, or where, or with whom they like not: if hee receive but a couple of horses or other present from his friends or kinsmen beyond the seas: if hee salute or use courteously any man or messenger which commeth from them (as you know Princes of their nobility and courtesie are accustomed, though they come from their enemies, as often hath beene seene and highly commended in her Majesty of *England*;) if hee deale familiarly with any Ambassadors which liketh not them: or finally if hee doe say, or signifie, any one thing whatsoever, that pleaseth not their humour: they will presently, as seditious tribunes of the people, exclaim in publique, and stepping to the Pulpit where the word of the Lord onely ought to bee preached: will excite the commonalty to discontentation, inveying against their soveraigne with such bitterness of speech, unreverend tearmes, and insolent controlements, as is not to bee spoken; Now imagine what her Majesty and her grave councill would doe in *England*, if such proceedings should bee used, by the Cleargy against them.

Schollar.

Sir Patrick  
Adamson  
Archbishop  
of Saint  
*Andrewes*.

No doubt (quoth I) but that such unquiet Spirits should bee punished in our Realme. And so I said of late to their most reverend and worthy Prelate and Primate the Archbishop of Saint *Andrewes*, with whom it was my luck to come acquainted in *London*, whither hee was come by his Kings appointment (as hee said) to treat certain affaires with our Queene and Councill. And talking with him of this disorder of his ministry, hee confessed the same with much griefe of mind, and told mee, that hee had preached thereof before the King himselfe, detesting and accusing divers heads thereof, for which cause, hee was become very odious to them and other of their faction, both in *Scotland* and *England*. But hee said, that as hee had given the reasons of his doings unto our Queene: so meaneth hee shortly to doe the same unto Monsieur *Beza*, and to the whole Church of *Geneva*, by sending thither the Articles of his and their doings. Protesting unto mee that the proceedings and attempts of those factious and corrupt men, was most scandalous, seditious and perilous, both to the Kings person, and to the Realme: being sufficient indeed, to alienate wholly the yong Prince from all affection to our religion, when hee shall see the chiefe Professours thereof, to behave themselves so undutifully towards him.

Gentleman.

Treasons  
plotted  
against the  
King of *Scots*.

That is the thing which these men, his competitours, most desire (quoth the Gentleman) hoping thereby, to procure him most evill will and danger, both at home and from *England*. For which cause also, they have practized so many plots and treacheries with his owne subjects against him: hoping by that meanes, to bring the one in distrust and hatred of the other, and consequently the King in danger of destruction by his owne. And in this machination, they have behaved themselves so

dexterously, so covertly used the mannage and contriving hereof, and so cunningly conveyed the execution of many things: as it might, indeed, seeme apparent unto the yong King, that the whole plot of treasons against his Realme and Person, doth come from *England*, thereby to drive him into jealousie of our state, and our state of him: and all this for their owne profit.

Neither is this any new device of my Lord of *Leycester*, to draw men for his owne gaine, into danger and hatred with the state, under other pretences. For I could tell you divers stories and stratagemes of his cunning in this kind, and the one farre different from the other in device: but yet all to one end. I have a friend yet living, that was towards the old Earle of *Arundell*, in good credit, and by that meanes had occasion to deal with the late Duke of *Norfolke* in his chiefest affaires before his troubles. This man is wont to report strange things from the Dukes owne mouth, of my Lord of *Leycesters* most treacherous dealing towards him, for gaining of his bloud, as after appeared: albeit the Duke when hee reported the same, mistrusted not so much my Lords malice therein. But the summe of all, is this in effect: that *Leycester* having a secret desire, to pull downe the said Duke, to the end that hee might have no man above himselfe, to hinder him in that which hee most desireth: by a thousand cunning devises drew in the Duke to the cogitation of that marriage with the Queene of *Scotland*, which afterward was the cause or occasion of his ruine. And hee behaved himselfe so dexterously in this drift, by setting on the Duke on the one side, and intrapping him on the other: as *Iudas* himselfe never played his part more cunningly, when hee supped with his Master, and set himselfe so neere, as hee dipped his spoone in the same dish, and durst before others aske, who should betray him? meaning that night, to doe it himselfe, as hee shewed soone after supper, when hee came as a Captaine with a band of conspiratours, and with a courteous kisse delivered his person, into the hands of them, whom hee well knew to thirst after his bloud.

*Leycesters*  
cunning  
device for  
overthrowing  
the Duke of  
*Norfolke*.

The  
impudency of  
*Judas*.

The very like did the Earle of *Leycester* with the Duke of *Norfolke* for the art of treason, though in the parties betrayed there were great difference of innocency. Namely, at one time, when her Majesty was at *Basing* in *Hampshire*, and the Duke attended there to have audience, with great indifferency in himselfe, to follow or leave off his sute for marriage: (for that now he began to suspect, Her Maiesty liked not greatly thereof :) my Lord of *Leicester* came to him, and counselled him in any case to persevere and not to relent, assuring him with many oaths and protestations, that Her Majesty must and should be brought to allow thereof, whether she would or no, and that himselfe would seale that purpose with his blood. Neither was it to be suffered that Her Maiesty should have her will herein; with many other like speeches to this purpose: which the Duke repeated againe then presently to my said friend: with often laying his hand upon his bosome, and saying; I have here which assureth me sufficiently of the fidelity of my Lord of *Leicester*; meaning not only the foresaid speeche, but also divers letters which he had written to the Duke of that effect, as likewise he had done to some other person of more importance in the Realme; which matter comming afterward to light, he cousened most notably her Maiesty, by shewing her a reformed copie of the said Letter, for the letter it selfe.

The speeches  
of *Leicester* to  
the Duke of  
*Norfolke*.

*Leicest.*  
cousenage of  
the Queene.

But now how well hee performed his promise, in dealing with her Majesty for the Duke, or against the Duke in this matter, her Highnesse can best tell, and the event

*Leycester's Commonwealth.*

it selfe shewed. For the Duke being admitted soone after to Her Majesties speech, at an other place, and receiving a far other answer then hee had in hope conceived upon *Leicesters* promises: retyred himselfe to *London*, where the same night following hee received letters both from *Leycester*, and Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, upon *Leicesters* instigation (for they were at that time both friends and of a faction) that he should presently flee into *Norfolke* as hee did, which was the last and finall complement of all *Leicesters* former devices, whereby to plunge his friend over the eares in suspition and disgrace, in such sort, as he should never be able to draw himselfe out of the ditch againe, as indeed he was not, but died in the same.

The Duke of  
*Norfolkes*.  
flying into  
*Norfolke*.

Machivilian  
Sleights.

*Leicesters*  
devices for  
the overthrow  
of Sir  
*Christopher*  
*Hatton*.

And herein you see also the same subtile and Machivilian sleight, which I mentioned before, of driving men to attempt somewhat, whereby they may incurre danger, or remaine in perpetuall suspition or disgrace. And this practice hee hath long used, and doth daily, against such as he hath will to destroy. As for example: What say you to the device he had of late, to intrap his well deserving friend, Sir *Christopher Hatton*, in the matter of *Hall* his Priest, whom hee would have had Sir *Christopher* to send away and hide, being touched and detected in the case of *Ardent*, thereby to have drawne in Sir *Christopher* himselfe, as Sir *Charles Candish* can well declare, if it please him, being accessary to this plot, for the overthrow of Sir *Christopher*. To which intent and most devilish drift pertained (I doubt not) if the matter were duly examined, the late interception of letters in *Paris* from one *Aldred* of *Lyons* then in *Rome*, to *Henry Vmpton*, servant to Sir *Christopher*, in which letters, Sir *Christopher* is reported to be of such credit and speciall favour in *Rome*, as if hee were the greatest Papist in *England*.

*Leicesters*  
devices  
against the  
Earle of  
*Shrewsbury*.

What meaneth also these pernicious late dealings against the Earle of *Shrewsbury*, a man of the most ancient and worthiest Nobility of our Realme? what meane the practises with his nearest both in bed and blood against him? what meane these most false and slanderous rumours cast abroad of late of his disloyall demeanures towards her Majesty and his countrey, with the great prisoner committed to his charge? Is all this to any other end, but only to drive him to some impatience, and thereby to commit or say something which may open the gate unto his ruine? Divers other things could I recite of his behaviour towards other noble men of the Realm, who live abroad in their countries much iniured and malcontented by his insolencie: albeit in respect of his present power they dare not complaine. And surely it is strange to see, how little account hee maketh of all the ancient Nobility of our Realme: how he contemneth, derideth and debaseth them: which is the fashion of all such as mean to usurpe, to the end they may have none who shal not acknowledge their first beginning and advancement from themselves.

*Leicesters*  
contempt of  
the ancient  
Nobility of  
*England*.

Lawyer.

New men  
most con-  
temptuous.

Duke *Dudley*  
jest at the  
Earle of  
*Arundel*.

Not only Vsurers (quoth the Lawyer) but all others who rise and mount aloft from base lynage, bee ordinarily most contemptuous, contumultuous, & insolent against others of more antiquity. And this was evident in this mans father, who being a Bucke of the first head (as you know) was intolerable in contempt of others: as appeareth, by those whom hee trode downe of the Nobility in his time: as also by his ordinary jests against the Duke of *Somerset* and others. But among other times, sitting one day at his owne table (as a Counsellor told me that was present) hee tooke occasion to talke of the Earle of *Arundel* whom he then had not only removed from

the Counsell, but also put into the Tower of *London*, being (as is well knowne) the first and chiefest Earle of the Realme. And for that the said Earle, shewed himselfe somewhat sad and afflicted with his present state (as I marvel not, seeing himselfe in prison, and within the compasse of so fierce a Bears pawes) it pleased this goodly Duke, to vaunt upon this Earles misery, at his owne table (as I have said) and asked the noble men and Gentlemen there present, what Crest or Cognizance my Lord of *Arundel* did give? and when every one answered, that he gave the white Horse: I thought so (quoth the Duke) and not without great cause: for as the white Paulfrey when hee standeth in the stable, and is well provendred, is proud and fierce, and ready to leape upon every other horses back, still neying and prauncing, and troubling all that stand about him: but when hee is once out of his hoat stable, and deprived a little of his ease and fat feeding, every boy may ride and master him at his pleasure: so it is (quoth he) with my Lord of *Arundel*: Whereat many marvelled that were present, to heare so insolent speech passe from a man of judgement, against a Peere of the Realme, cast into calamity.

But you would more have marvelled (quoth the Gentleman) if you had seene that which I did afterward, which was the most base and abjectt behaviour of the same Duke, to the same Earle of *Arundel* at *Cambridge*, and upon the way towards *London*: when this Earle was sent to apprehend and bring him up, as prisoner. If I should tell you how hee fell downe on his knees, how he wept, how he besought the said Earle to be a good Lord vnto him, whom a little before he had so much contemned and reproached: you would have said, that himselfe might as well be compared to this his white Paulfrey as the other. Albeit in this, I will excuse neither of them both, neither almost any other of these great men, who are so proud and insolent in their prosperous fortune, as they are easily led to contemne any man, albeit themselves be most contemptible of all others, whensoever their fortune beginneth to change: and so will my Lord of *Leicester* be also, no doubt at that day, though now in his wealth he triumph over all, and careth not whom, or how many hee offend and injure.

Gentleman.

The most abjectt behaviour of duke *Dudley* in adverse fortunes.

Sir therein I beleeve you (quoth I) for wee have had sufficient tryall already of my Lords fortitude in adversity. His base and abjectt behaviour in his last disgrace about his marriage, well declared what he would doe, in a matter of more importance. His fawning and flattering of them, whom he hated most: his servile speeches, his feigned and dissembled teares, are all very well knowne: Then Sir *Christopher Hatton*, must needs be enforced, to receive at his hands the honourable and great office of Chamberlainship of *Chester*, for that he would by any means resign the same unto him, whether he would or no: and made him provide (not without his charge) to receive the same, though his Lordship never meant it, as after well appeared. For that the present pange being past, it liked my Lord to fulfill the Italian Proverbe, of such as in dangers make vowes to Saints: *Scampato il pericolo, gabbato il Santo*, the danger escaped, the Saint is deceived.

Scholler

*Leicesters* base behaviour in adversity.

*Leicesters* deceiving of Sir *Christopher Hatton*.

Then, and in that necessity, no men of the Realme were so much honoured, commended and served by him, as the noble Chamberlaine deceased, and the good Lord Treasurer yet living: to whom, at a certaine time, hee wrote a letter, in all fraud and base dissimulation, and caused the same to bee delivered with great cunning in the sight of her Maiesty; and yet so, as to shew a purpose that it should not be seen:

A pretty shift of my Lord *Leicester*.

Her Majesties  
speech of  
*Leicester* to  
the Treasurer.

to the end, her Highnesse might the rather take occasion to call for the same and reade it, as she did. For Mistris *Frances Haward* (to whom the stratagem was committed) playing her part dexterously, offered to deliver the same to the Lord Treasurer, neere the doore of the with-drawing Chamber, hee then comming from Her Majesty. And to draw the eye and attention of her Highnesse the more unto it, shee let fall the paper, before it touched the Treasurers hand, and by that occasion brought her Majesty to call for the same: Which after she had read and considered the stile, together with the metall and constitution of him that wrote it, and to whom it was sent: Her Highnesse could not but breake forth in laughter, with detestation of such absurd and abiect dissimulation: saying unto my Lord Treasurer there present: my Lord beleve him not, for if hee had you in like case hee would play the Beare with you, though at this present hee fawne upon you never so fast.

But now, Sir, I pray you goe forward in your speech of *Scotland*, for there, I remember you left off, when by occasion wee fell into these digressions.

Gentleman.

Well then (quoth the Gentleman) to returne againe to *Scotland* (as you move) from whence wee have digressed: most certaine and evident it is to all the world, that all the broyles, troubles, and dangers procured to the Prince in that countrey, as also the vexations of them, who any way are thought to favour that title in our owne Realme, doe proceed from the drift and complot of these conspirators. Which besides the great dangers mentioned before, both domesticall and forraine, temporall, and of religion, must needs inferre great jeopardy also to Her Maiesties person and present reigne, that now governeth, through the hope and heat of the aspirors ambition, inflamed and increased so much the more, by the nearnesse of their desired pray.

The danger  
of her  
Majestie by  
oppression of  
the favourers  
of the  
*Scottish* title.

A Similie  
true.

For as souldiers entred into hope of a rich and well furnished Citie, are more fierce and furious, when they have gotten and beaten downe the Bul-workes round about: and as the greedy Burglarer that hath pearsed and broken downe many wals to come to a treasure, is lesse patient of stay, stop and delay, when hee commeth in sight of that which he desireth, or perceiveth only some partition of wane-skot or the like, betwixt his fingers and the cofers or money bags: so these men, when they shall see the succession of *Scotland* extinguished, together with all friends and favourers thereof, (which now are to Her Majesty as Bulwarkes and Walles, and great obstacles to the aspirors) and when they shall see only Her Majesties life and person, to stand betwixt them and their fiery desires, (for they make little account of all other Competitours by King *Henries* line:) no doubt, but it will be to them a great pricke and spurre, to dispatch Her Maiesty also: the nature of both Earles being well considered, whereof the one killed his own wife (as hath beene shewed before) onely upon a little vaine hope of marriage with a Queene, and the other being so farre blinded and borne away, with the same furious fume, and most impotent itching humour of ambition: as his owne mother, when she was alive, seemed greatly to feare his fingers, if once the matter should come so neere, as her life had only stood in his way. For which cause, the good old Countesse, was wont to pray God (as I have heard divers say) that she might die before Her Majesty, (which happily was granted unto her) to the end that by standing in her sonnes way (who shee saw to her grieve, furiously bent to weare a Crowne:) their might not some dangerous extremity grow to her, by that nearnesse: And if his owne mother feared this mischance, what may her Majesty doubt, at his

Earle of  
*Leicester*.  
Earle of  
*Huntington*.

The old  
Countesse of  
*Huntingtons*  
speech of her  
sonne.

and his companions hands, when she only shall be the obstacle of all their unbridled and impatient desires ?

Cleare it is (quoth the Lawyer) that the nearnesse of aspirours to the Crowne, endangereth greatly the present possessors, as you have well proved by reason, and I could shew by divers examples, if it were need. For when *Henry Bullingbrooke*, Duke of *Lancaster* saw, not only *Richard* the second to be without issue, but also *Roger Mortimer*, Earle of *March*, that should have succeeded in the Crowne, to bee slaine in *Ireland* : though before (as is thought) hee meant not to usurpe, yet seeing the possibility and neere cut that he had : was invited therewith to lay hands of his Soveraignes blood and dignity, as he did. The like is thought of *Richard*, Duke of *Glocester*, that he never meant the murder of his nephewes, until he saw their father dead, and themselves in his owne hands : his brother also Duke of *Clarence* dispatched, and his only sonne and heire Earle of *Warwicke*, within his owne power.

Lawyer.

Nearnesse in competitors doth incite them to adventure.

*Henry Bulingbrook* after King *Henry* the fourth.

*Richard* duke of *Glocester* after King *Richard* the third.

Wherefore, seeing it hath not pleased Almighty God, for causes to himselfe best knowne, to leave unto this noble Realme, any issue by her most excellent Majesty, it hath beene a point of great wisdom in mine opinion, and of great safety to Her Highnesse person, state, and dignity ; to preserve hitherto, the line of the next Inheritors by the house of *Scotland*, (I meane both the mother and the son) whose deaths hath beene so diligently sought, by the other competitours, and had beene long ere this atchieved, if her Majesties owne wisdom and Royall clemency (as is thought) had not placed speciall eye upon the conservation thereof, from time to time. Which princely providence, so long as it shall endure, must needs be a great safety and fortresse to Her Majesty, not onely against the claimes, ayds, or annoyance of forraine Princes who will not be so forward to advance strange titles, while so manifest heires remaine at home, nor yet so willing (in respect of policy) to helpe that line to possession of the whole Iland : but also against practices of domesticall aspirours (as you have shewed) in whose affaires no doubt but these two branches of *Scotland* are great blocks, as also special Bulwarkes to her Majesties life and person : seeing (as you say) these copartners make so little account of all the other of that line, who should ensue by order of succession.

The great wisdom of her Majesty in conserving the next heires of *Scotland*.

Marry yet of the two, I thinke the youth of *Scotland* be of much more importance for their purpose, to be made away, both for that he may have issue, and is like in time to be of more ability, for defence of his owne inheritance : as also for that hee being once dispatched, his mother should soone ensue, by one sleight or other, which they would devise unwitting to Her Majesty : albeit, I must needs confesse, that her Highnesse hath used most singular prudence for prevention thereof : in placing her restraint with so noble, strong, and worthy a Peere of our Realme, as the Earle of *Shrewsbury* is : whose fidelity and constancy being nothing pliable to the others faction, giveth them little contentation. And for that cause, the world seeth, how many sundry and divers devices they have used, and doe use daily to slaunder and disgrace him, and thereby to pull from him his charge committed.

The King of *Scotland*'s destruction of more importance to the conspirators, then his mothers.

The Earle of *Salisbury* disgraced by the competitors.

To this the Gentleman answered nothing at all, but stood still musing with himselfe, as though he had conceived some deepe matter in his head : and after a little pause he began to say as followeth.

Gentleman.

I cannot truly but much marvaile, when I doe compare some things of this time



The vigilant  
eye that her  
Majesties  
ancestors had  
to the col-  
laterall line.

Persons  
executed of  
the House of  
*Clarence*.

The example  
of *Iulius*  
*Cæsars*  
destruction.

Too much  
confidence  
very perilous  
in a Prince.

and government, with the doings of former Princes, progenitors to Her Maiesty. Namely of *Henry* the seventh, and *Henry* the eight: who had so vigilant an eye to the laterall line of King *Edward* the fourth by his brother of *Clarence*, as they thought it necessary, not only to prevent all evident dangers that might ensue that way, but even the possibilities of all perill: as may well appeare by the execution of *Edward* Earle of *Warwicke* before named, Sonne and heire to the said Duke of *Clarence*, and of *Margaret* his Sister Countess of *Salisbury*, with the Lord *Henry Montague* her Sonne, by whose Daughter the Earle of *Huntington* now claimeth. All which were executed for avoiding of inconveniences, and that at such times, when no imminent danger could bee much doubted, by that Line, especially by the latter. And yet now when one of the same House and Line, of more ability and ambition, then ever any of his Ancestours were, maketh open title and claime to the Crowne, with plots, packs, and preparations to most manifest usurpation, against all order, all law, and all rightfull succession: and against a speciall statute provided in that behalfe: yet is hee permitted, borne out, favored, and friended therein: and no man so hardy, as in defence of her Majestie and Realme, to controule him for the same.

It may be, that her Majesty is brought into the same opinion of my Lord of *Huntingtons* fidelity, as *Iulius Cæsar* was of *Marcus Brutus*, his dearest obliged friend: of whose ambitious practises, and aspiring, when *Cæsar* was advertised by his carefull friends: hee answered, that hee well knew *Brutus* to bee ambitious, but I am sure (quoth hee) that my *Brutus* will never attempt any thing for the Empire, while *Cæsar* liveth: and after my death, let him shift for the same among others, as hee can. But what ensued? Surely I am loth to tell the event, for ominations sake, but yet all the World knoweth, that ere many moneths passed, this most Noble and Clement Emperour, was pittifully murdered by the same *Brutus* and his Partners, in the publique Senate, when least of all hee expected such treason. So dangerous a thing it is, to bee secure in a matter of so great sequell, or to trust them with a mans life, who may pretend preferment or interest, by his death.

Wherefore, would God her Majesty in this case, might bee induced, to have such due care and regard of her owne estate and Royall person, as the weighty moment of the matter requireth: which containeth the blisse and calamity of so Noble and worthy a Kingdome, as this is.

I know right well, that most excellent natures are alwayes furthest off from diffidence in such people, as proves love, and are most bounden by duty: and so it is evident in her Majesty. But yet surely, this confidence so commendable in other men, is scarce allowable often times in the person of a Prince: for that it goeth accompanied with so great perill, as is inevitable to him that will not suspect principally when dangers are foretold or presaged, (as commonly by Gods appointment they are, for the speciall hand hee holdeth over Princes affaires,) or when there is probable conjecture, or just surmise of the same.

Wee know that the forenamed Emperour *Cæsar*, had not onely the warning given him of the inclination and intent of *Brutus* to usurpation, but even the very day when hee was going towards the place of his appointed destiny, there was given up into his hands a detection of the whole treason, with request to read the same presently, which hee upon confidence omitted to doe. Wee read also of *Alexander* the great, how hee



was not onely forbidden by a learned man, to enter into *Babylon* (whether hee was then going) for that there was treason meant against him, in the place, but also that hee was foretold of *Antipaters* mischievous meaning against him, in particular. But the yong Prince having so well deserved of *Antipater* could not bee brought to mistrust the man that was so deare unto him: and by that meanes was poisoned in a banquet, by three Sonnes of *Antipater*, which were of most credit and confidence in the Kings Chamber.

The example of *Alexander* the great, how he was foretold his danger.

Here, truly, my heart did somewhat tremble with feare, horror, and detestation of such events. And I said unto the Gentleman. I beseech you, Sir, to talke no more of these matters, for I cannot well abide to heare them named: hoping in the Lord, that there is no cause, nor ever shall bee, to doubt the like in *England*: specially from these men who are so much bounden to her Majesty, and so forward in seeking out and pursuing all such, as may bee thought to be dangerous to her Majesties person, as by the sundry late executions wee have seene, and by the punishments every way of Papists, wee may perceive.

Scholler.

Late executions.

Truth it is (quoth the Gentleman) that justice hath beene done upon divers of late, which contenteth mee greatly, for the terrour and restraint of others, of what sect or religion soever they bee: And it is most necessary (doubtles) for the compressing of parties, that great vigilance bee used in that behalfe. But when I consider, that onely one kind of men are touched herein: and that all speech, regard, doubt, distrust, and watch, is of them alone; without reflexion of eye upon any other mens doings or designements: when I see the double diligence, and vehemency of certaine instruments, which I like not, bent wholly to rayse wonder and admiration of the people, feare, terrour, and attention, to the doings, sayings, and meanings of one part or faction alone, and of that namely and onely, which these conspiratours esteeme for most dangerous and opposite to themselves: I am (believe mee) often tempted to suspect fraud and false measure: and that these men deale, as Wolves by nature in other Countries are wont to doe: Which going together in great numbers to assaile a flock of sheepe by night, doe set some one or two of their company upon the wind side of the fold a farre off, who partly by their sent and other bruteling which of purpose they make, may draw the dogges and shepherds to pursue them alone, whiles the other doe enter and slay the whole flock. Or as rebels that meaning to surprise a Towne, to turne away the Inhabitants from consideration of the danger, and from defence of that place, where they intend to enter: doe set on fire some other parts of the Towne further off, and doe sound a false alarme at some gate, where is meant least danger.

Gentleman.

Fraud to bee feared in pursuing one part or faction onely.

The comparison of Wolves and Rebels.

Which art, was used cunningly by *Richard* Duke of *Yorke* in the time of King *Henry* the sixt, when hee to cover his owne intent: brought all the Realme in doubt of the doings of *Edmond* Duke of *Somerset*, his enemy. But *Iohn* of *Northumberland*, Father to my Lord of *Leycester*, used the same art much more skilfully, when hee put all *England* in a maze and musing of the Protectour and of his friends: as though nothing could bee safe about the yong King, untill they were suppressed: and consequently, all brought into his owne authority, without obstacle. I speake not this, to excuse Papists, or to wish them any way spared wherein they offend: but onely to signifie that in a Countrey, where so potent factions bee, it is not safe, to suffer the one to make it selfe so puissant by pursuite of the other: as afterwards the Prince

*Richard* Duke of *Yorke*.

Duke *Dudley*.

A good rule of policy.

must remaine at the devotion of the stronger: but rather as in a body molested and troubled with contrary humours, if all cannot bee purged, the best Physick is, without all doubt, to reduce and hold them at such an equality: as destruction may not bee feared of the predominant.

To this said the Lawyer laughing, yea marry Sir. I would to God, your opinion might prevaile in this matter: for then should wee bee in other tearmes, then now wee are. I was not long since, in company of a certaine honourable Lady of the Court, who, after some speech passed by Gentlemen that were present, of some apprehended, and some executed, and such like affaires: brake into a great complaint of the present time, and therewith (I assure you) moved all the hearers to grieve (as women you know are potent in stirring of affections,) and caused them all to wish that her Majesty, had beene nigh to have heard her words.

The speech  
of a certaine  
Lady of the  
Court.

I doe well remember (quoth shee) the first douzen yeares of her highnesse raigne, how happy, pleasant, and quiet they were, with all manner of comfort and consolation. There was no mention then of factions in religion, neither was any man much noted or rejected for that cause: so otherwise his conversation were civill and courteous. No suspicion of treason, no talke of bloudshed, no complaint of troubles, miseries or vexations. All was peace, all was love, all was joy, all was delight. Her Majesty (I am sure) tooke more recreation at that time, in one day, then she doth now in a whole weeke: and wee that served her highnesse, enjoyed more contentation in a weeke, then wee can now in divers yeares. For now, there are so many suspicions, every where, for this thing and for that: as wee cannot tell whom to trust. So many melancholique in the Court, that seeme male-contented: so many complaining or suing for their friends that are in trouble: other slip over the Sea, or retire themselves upon the sudden: so many tales brought us of this or that danger, of this man suspected, of that man sent for up, and such like unpleasant and unsavory stuffe: as wee can never almost bee merry one whole day together.

More  
moderation  
wished in  
matters of  
faction.

Wherefore (quoth this Lady) wee that are of her Majesties traine and speciall service, and doe not onely feel these things in our selves, but much more in the grieve of her most excellent Majesty, whom wee see dayly molested herewith (being one of the best natures, I am sure, that ever noble Princesse was indued with all :) wee cannot but mone, to behold contentions advanced so farre foorth as they are: and wee could wish most hartily that for the time to come, these matters might passe with such peace, friendship and tranquility, as they doe in other Countries: where difference in religion breaketh not the band of good fellowship, or fidelity. And with this in a smiling manner, shee brake off: asking pardon of the company, if shee had spoken her opinion, over boldly, like a woman.

The speech  
of a Courtier.

To whom, answered a Courtier, that sat next her: Madame, your Ladiship hath said nothing in this behalfe, that is not dayly debated among us, in our Common speech in Court, as you know. Your desire also herein is a publique desire, if it might bee brought to passe: for there is no man so simple, that seeth not, how perilous these contentions and divisions among us, may bee in the end. And I have heard divers Gentlemen, that bee learned, discourse at large upon this argument: alleaging old examples of the *Athenians*, *Lacedemonians*, *Carthagenians*, and *Romans*, who received notable dammages, and destruction also, in the end, by their divisions and factions

among themselves : and specially from them of their owne Cities and Countries, who upon factions lived abroad with Forrainers : and thereby were always as fire-brands to carry home the flame of Warre, upon their Countrey.

This perill of divisions and factions in a Commonwealth.

The like, they also shewed by the long experience of all the great Cities and States of *Italy* : which by their factious and forscites, were in continuall garboile, bloudshed and misery. Whereof our owne Countrey hath tasted also her part, by the odious contention betweene the Houses of *Lancaster* and *Yorke* : wherein it is marvailous to consider, what trouble a few men oftentimes, departing out of the Realme, were able to worke, by the part of their faction remaining at home (which commonly encreaseth towards them that are absent,) and by the readines of forraine Princes, to receive alwayes, and comfort such, as are discontented in an other state : to the end, that by their meanes, they might hold an ore in their neighbours bote : Which, Princes that are nigh borderers, doe alwayes, above all other things most covet and desire.

This was that Courtiers speech and reason, whereby I perceived, that as well among them in Court, as among us in the Realme and Countrey abroad, the present inconvenience and dangerous sequell of this our home dissension, is espied : and consequently most English hearts inclined to wish the remedy or prevention thereof, by some reasonable moderation, or re-union among our selves. For that the prosecution of these differences to extremity, cannot but after many wounds and exulcerations bring matters finally to rage, fury and most deadly desperation.

The dangerous sequell of dissension in our Realme.

Whereas on the other side, if any sweet qualification, or small tolleration among us, were admitted : there is no doubt, but that affaires would passe in our Realme, with more quietnes, safety and publique weale of the same, then it is like it will doe long : and men would easily bee brought, that have English bowels, to joyne in the preservation of their Countrey, from ruine, bloudshed, and forraine oppression, which desperation of factions is wont to procure.

I am of your opinion (quoth the Gentleman) in that, for I have seene the experience thereof, and all the World beholdeth the same at this day, in all the Countries of *Germany*, *Polonia*, *Bæmland*, and *Hungary* : where a little bearing of the one with the other, hath wrought them much ease, and continued them a peace, whereof all *Europe* besides, hath admiration and envy. The first douzen yeares also of her Majesties raigne, whereof your Lady of the Court discoursed before, can well bee a witnesse of the same : Wherein the commiseration and lenity that was used towards those of the weaker sort, with a certaine sweet diligence for their gaining, by good meanes, was the cause of much peace, contentation, and other benefit to the whole body.

Gentleman.  
Examples of tolleration in matters of Religion.  
*Germany*.

Wee see in *France*, that by over much pressing of one part onely, a fire was inkindled not many yeares since, like to have consumed and destroyed the whole : had not a necessary molification beene thought upon, by the wisest of that King's Councill, full contrary to the will and inclination of some great personages, who meant perhaps to have gained more by the other. And since that time, wee see what peace, wealth and re-union, hath insued in that Countrey, that was so broken, dissevered and wasted before. And all this, by yeelding a little in that thing, which no force can master, but exulcerate rather, and make worse : I meane the conscience and judgement of men in matters of religion.

The breach and re-union againe in *France*.

*Flanders.*

The like also I could name you in *Flaunders*, where after all these broyles and miseries, of so many yeares warres (caused principally by too much streyning in such affaires at the beginning) albeit, the King be never so strict-laced, in yeelding to publike liberty, and free exercise on both parts: yet is he descended to this at length (and that upon force of reason) to abstain from the pursuite and search of mens consciences, not onely in the townes, which upon composition hee receiveth, but also where hee hath recovered by force, as in *Tornay*, and other places: where I am informed that no man is searched, demanded, or molested for his opinion or conscience, nor any act of Papistry or contrary religion required at their hands: but are permitted to liue quietly to God and themselves, at home in their owne houses: so they perform otherwise, their outward obedience and duties to their Prince and countrey. Which only qualification, tollerance, and moderation in our Realme (if I be not deceived, with many more that be of my opinion) would content all divisions, factions, and parties among us, for their continuance in peace: be they Papists, Puritanes, Familians, or of whatsoever nice difference or section besides, and would be sufficient to retaine all parties, within a temperate obedience to the Magistrate and government, for conservation of their countrey: which were of no small importance to the contentation of Her Majesty, and weale publike of the whole kingdome.

Moderation  
impugned  
by the  
conspirators.  
*Cicero.*  
*Cateline.*

The  
Conspirators  
opportunity.

But what should I talke of this thing, which is so contrary to the desires and designments of our puissant Conspirators? What should *Cicero* the Senator use perswasions to Captaine *Cateline*, and his crew, that quietnesse and order were better then hurleburlies? Is it possible that our Aspirours will ever permit any such thing, cause, or matter, to be treated in our state, as may tend to the stability of Her Majesties present government. No surely, it standeth nothing with their wisdoms or policie: especially at this instant, when they have such opportunity of following their owne actions in Her Majesties name, under the vizard and pretext, of her defence and safety: having sowed in every mans head, so many imaginations of the dangers present both abroad and at home: from *Scotland*, *Flanders*, *Spaine* and *Ireland*: so many conspiracies, so many intended murders, and others so many contrived or conceived mischieves: as my Lord of *Leicester* assureth himselfe, that the troubled water cannot bee cleared againe, in short space, nor his baits and lines laid therein, easily espied: but rather, that hereby ere long, hee will catch the fish he gapeth so greedily after: and in the meane time, for the pursute of these crimes, and other that daily he will find out, himselfe must remaine perpetuall Dictator.

But what meaneth this so much inculcating of troubles, treasons, murders, and invasions? I like not surely these ominous speeches. And as I am out of doubt, that *Leicester* the caster of these shadowes, doth looke to play his part, first in these troublesome affaires: so doe I heartily feare, that unlesse the tyrannie of this *Leicestrian* fury be speedily stopped, that such misery to Prince, and people (which the Lord for his mercies sake turne from us) as never greater fell before to our miserable countrey: is farre nearer hand then is expected or suspected.

And therefore, for prevention of these calamities, to tell you plainely mine opinion (good Sirs) and therewith to draw to an end of this our conference (for it waxeth late:) I would thinke it the most necessary point of all for Her Majesty to call his Lordship to account among other, and to see what other men could say against him, at length,

*Leicester*  
to be called  
to account.

after so many yeares of his sole accusing and pursuing of others. I know and am very well assured, that no one act which Her Majesty hath done since her comming to the Crowne (as she hath done right many most highly to be commended) nor any that lightly Her Majesty may doe hereafter, can be of more vtilitie to Her selfe, and to the Realme, or, more gratefull unto her faithfull and zealous subiects then this noble act of Justice would bee, for tryall of this mans deserts towards his countrey.

I say it would be profitable to Her Maiestie, and to the Realme, not only in respect of the many dangers before mentioned, hereby to bee avoyded, which are like to ensue most certainly, if his courses be still permitted: but also for that Her Maiesty shall by this, deliver Her selfe from that generall grudge and grieve of mind, with great dislike, which many subiects, otherwise most faithfull, have conceived against the excessive favour shewed to this man so many yeares, without desert or reason. Which favour, he having used to the hurt, annoyance and oppression both of infinit severall persons, and the whole Common-wealth (as hath beene said:) the grieve and resentment thereof, doth redound commonly in such cases, not onely upon the person dilinquent alone, but also upon the Sovereigne, by whose favour and authority hee offereth such iniuries, though never so much against the others intent, will, desire, or meaning.

And hereof we have examples of sundry Princes, in all ages and countries; whose exorbitant favour to some wicked subiect that abused the same: hath beene the cause of great danger and ruin: the sinnes of the Favourite, being returned, and revenged upon the Favourer. As in the Historie of the *Grecians* is declared, by occasion of the pittifull murder of that wise and victorious Prince *Philip* of *Macedonie*, who albeit, that he were well assured to have given no offence of himselfe to any of his subjects, and consequently feared nothing, but conversed openly and confidently among them: yet, for that hee had favoured too much one Duke *Attalus*, a proud and insolent Courtier, and had borne him out in certaine of his wickednesse, or at least, not punished the same after it was detected and complayned upon: the parties grieved, accounting the crime more proper and hainous on the part of him, who by office should doe iustice, and protect other, then of the Perpetrator, who followeth but his owne passion and sensuality: let passe *Attalus*, and made their revenge upon the blood and life of the King himselfe, by one *Pausanius*, suborned for that purpose, in the marriage day of the Kings owne daughter.

The death of  
King *Philip*  
of *Macedonie*,  
and cause  
thereof.

*Pausanias.*

Great store of like examples might be repeated, out of the stories of other countries, nothing being more usuall or frequent among all nations, then the afflictions of Realmes and kingdomes, and the overthrow of Princes and great Potentates themselves, by their too much affection sowards some unworthy particular persons: a thing indeed so common and ordinary, as it may well seeme to be the specialest Rock of all other, whereat Kings and Princes do make their shipwracks.

For if wee looke into the states and Monarchies of all Christendome, and consider the ruines that have bin of any Princes or Ruler within the same: wee shall find this point to have beene a great and principall part of the cause thereof: and in our owne state and countrey, the matter is too too evident. For whereas, since the conquest wee number principally, three iust and lawfull Kings: to have come to confusion, by alienation of their subject: that is, *Edward* the second, *Richard* the second, and *Henry*

Kings of  
*England*  
overthrowne  
by too much  
favouring of  
some parti-  
cular men.

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the sixt, this only point of too much favour towards wicked persons, was the chiefest cause of destruction in all three. As in the first, the excessive favour towards *Peter Gaveston* and two of the *Spencers*. In the second, the like extraordinary, and indiscreet affection towards *Robert Vere*, Earle of *Oxford*, and Marquesse of *Dubline*, and *Thomas Mowbray*, two most turbulent and wicked men, that set the King against his owne Vncles and the Nobility.

K. Edward 2.  
K. Richard 2.  
K. Henry 6.  
Pol. lib. 25.  
hist. Angl.

In the third (being a simple and holy man) albeit, no great exorbitant affection was seene towards any, yet his wife, Queene *Margarets* too much favour and credit (by him not controled) towards the Marques of *Suffolke*, that after was made Duke, by whose instinct and wicked counsell, she made away first the noble Duke of *Glocester*, and afterward committed other things in great preiudice of the Realme, and suffered the said most impious & sinfull Duke, to range & make havocke of all sort of subiects at his pleasure (much after the fashion of the Earle of *Leicester* now, though yet not in so high and extreme a degree: (this I say was the principall and originall cause, both before God and man, (as *Polidore* well noteth) of all the calamity and extreme desolation, which after ensued both to the King, Queene, and their only child, with the utter extirpation of their family.

And so likewise now to speak in our particular case, if there be any grudge or grieffe at this day, any mislike, repining, complaint or murmure against Her Majesties government, in the hearts of her true and faithfull subiects, who wish amendment of that which is amisse, and not the overthrow of that which is well: (as I trow it were no wisdom to imagine there were none at all:) I dare avouch upon conscience, that either all, or the greatest part thereof, proceedeth from this man: who by the favour of her Maiesty so afflicteth her people, as never did before him, either *Gaveston*, or *Spencer*, or *Vere*, or *Mowbray*. or any other mischievous Tyrant, that abused most his Princes favour within our Realme of *England*. Whereby it is evident, how profitable a thing it should bee to the whole Realme how honourable to Her Maiestie, and how gratefull to all her subiects, if this man at length might be called to his account.

Lawyer.

Sir (quoth the Lawyer) you alleage great reason, and verily I am of opinion, that if her Majesty knew but the tenth part of this, which you have here spoken, as also her good subiects desires and complaint in this behalfe: shee would well shew, that Her Highnesse feareth not to permit iustice to passe upon *Leicester*, or any other within her Realme, for satisfaction of her people, whatsoever some men may thinke and report to the contrary, or howsoever otherwise of her owne mild disposition, or good affection towards the person, shee have borne with him hitherto. For so wee see, that wise Princes can doe at times convenient, for peace and tranquillity, and publike weale: though contrary to their owne particular and peculiar inclination.

The punishment of William Duke of Suffolke.

As to goe no further, then to the last example named and alleaged by your selfe before: though Queene *Margaret* the wife of King *Henry* the sixt, had favoured most unfortunately many yeares together, *William* Duke of *Suffolke* (as hath beene said) whereby he committed manifold out-rages, and afflicted the Realme by sundry meanes: yet shee being a woman of great prudence, when she saw the whole Communalty demand justice upon him for his demerites, albeit shee liked and loved the man still: yet for satisfaction of the people, upon so generall a complaint: she was content, first to commit him to prison, and afterward to banish him the Realme: but the providence

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of God would not permit him so to escape : for that hee being incountred, and taken upon the sea in his passage, hee was beheaded in the ship, and so received some part of condigne punishment for his most wicked, loose, and licentious life.

And to seeke no more examples in this case, and wee know into what favour and speciall grace Sir *Edmond Dudley* my Lord of *Leycesters* good Grandfather was crept, with King *Henry* the seventh, in the latter end of his raigne: and what intollerable wickednesse and mischief hee wrought against the whole Realme, and against infinite particular persons of the same, by the polings and oppressions which hee practised : whereby though the King received great temporall commodity at that time, (as her Majesty doth nothing at all, by the present extortions of his Nephew :) yet for justice sake, and for meere compassion towards his afflicted subjects, that complained grievously of this iniquity: that most vertuous and wise Prince King *Henry*, was content to put from him, this lewd instrument, and devilish suggestour of new exactions : whom his Sonne *Henry*, that insued in the Crowne, caused presently before all other businesse, to bee called publicquely to accompt, and for his deserts to leefe his head : So as where the interest of a whole Realme, or common cause of many, taketh place : the private favour of any one, cannot stay a wise and godly Prince, (such as all the World knoweth her Majesty to bee) from permitting justice to have her free passage.

The  
punishment  
of *Edmond  
Dudley*.

Truly it should not (quoth the Gentleman) for to that end were Princes first elected, and upon that consideration doe subjects pay them both tribute and obedience: to bee defended by them from injuries and oppressions, and to see lawes executed, and justice exercised, upon and towards all men, with indifferency. And as for our particular case of my Lord of *Leycester*, I doe not see in right and equity, how her Majesty may deny this lawfull desire and petition of her people. For if her highnesse doe permit and command the lawes dayly to passe upon thieves and murderers, without exception, and that for one fact onely, as by experience wee see : how then can it bee denied in this man, who in both kinds hath committed more enormous acts, then may bee well recounted.

*Gentleman.*

The causes  
why Princes  
were chosen  
and doe  
receive  
obedience.

As in the first, of theft, not onely by spoiling and oppressing almost infinite private men: but also whole Townes, Villages, Corporations, and Countries, by robbing the Realme with inordinate licenses, by deceiving the Crowne, with racking, changing and imbezeling the lands, by abusing his Prince and sovereign in selling his favour both at home and abroad : with taking bribes for matter of justice, grace, request, supplication, or whatsoever sute els may depend upon the Court, or of the Princes authority: with setting at saile and making open market, of whatsoever her Majesty can give, doe, or procure, bee it spirituall or temporall. In which sort of traffique, hee committeth more theft, often times in one day : then all the way-keepers, cut-purses, cousiners, pirats, burglares, or other of that art in a whole yeare, within the Realme.

*Leycesters  
Thefts.*

And as for the second, which is murder, you have heard before somewhat said and proved : but yet nothing, to that which is thought to have beene in secret committed upon divers occasions at divers times, in sundry persons, of different calling in both sexes, by most variable meanes of killing, poisoning, charming, enchanting, conjuring and the like : according to the diversity of men, places,

*Leycesters  
murders.*



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opportunities and instruments for the same. By all which meanes, I thinke, hee hath more bloud lying upon his head at this day, crying vengeance against him at Gods hands and her Majesty, then ever had private man in our Countrey before, were hee never so wicked.

A heape of  
*Leycesters*  
enormities  
that would  
bee ready at  
the day of his  
triall.

Whereto now, if wee add his other good behaviour, as his intollerable licentiousnesse in all filthy kind and manner of carnality, with all sort of Wives, Friends and Kinswomen: if wee add his injuries and dishonours, done hereby to infinite: if wee add his treasons, treacheries and conspiracies about the Crowne; his disloyall behaviour and hatred against her Majesty, his ordinary lying, and common perjuring himselfe, in all matters for his gaine, both great and small; his rapes and most violent extortions upon the poore; his abusing of the Parliament and other places of justice, with the Nobility and whole communalty besides; if we add also his open injuries which hee offereth dayly to religion, and the Ministers thereof, by tithing them, and turning all to his owne gaine: together with his manifest and knowne tyranny practized towards all estates abroad, throughout all Shires of the Kingdome: his dispoyling of both the Vniversities, and discouraging of infinite notable wits there, from seeking perfection of knowledge and learning, (which otherwise were like to become notable) especially in Gods word (which giveth life unto the soule,) by defrauding them of the price and reward proposed for their travaile in that kind, through his insatiable Simoniacall contracts: if I say, wee should lay together all these enormities before her Majesty, and thousands more in particular, which might and would bee gathered, if his day of triall were but in hope to bee granted. I doe not see in equity and reason, how her highnesse sitting in throne, and at the Royall Sterne, as shee doth, could deny her subjects this most lawfull request: considering, that every one of these crimes apart, requireth justice of his owne nature: and much more all together ought to obtaine the same, at the hands of any good and godly Magistrate in the World.

Schollar.

Her Majesties  
tender heart  
towards the  
Realme.

No doubt (quoth I) but that these considerations, must needs weigh much with any zealous Prince, and much more with her most excellent Majesty: whose tender heart towards her Realme and Subjects, is very well knowne of all men. It is not to bee thought also, but that her highnesse hath intelligence of divers of these matters alleaged, though not perhaps of all. But what would you have her Majesty to doe? perhaps the consultation of this affaire, is not, what were convenient, but what is expedient: not, what ought to bee done in justice, but what may bee done in safety. You have described my Lord before to bee a great man, strongly furnished and fortified for all events. What if it bee not secure to bark at the Beare that is so well britched? I speake unto you but that which I heere in *Cambridge* and other places, where I have passed: where every mans opinion is, that her Majesty standeth not in free choise to doe what herselfe best liketh in that case, at this day.

Gentleman.

*Leycesters*  
desire, that  
men should  
think her  
Majesty to  
stand in feare  
of him.

I know (said the Gentleman) that *Leycesters* friends give it out every where, that her Majesty now, is their good Lords prisoner, and that shee either will or must bee directed by him for the time to come, except shee will doe worse: Which thing his Lordship is well contented should bee spread abroad, and believed, for two causes: the one to hold the people thereby more in awe of himselfe, then of their Sovereigne: and secondly to draw her Majestie indeed by degrees to feare him. For considering with himselfe what he hath done: and that it is impossible in truth that ever Her Majesty



should love him again, or trust him after so many treacheries, as he well knoweth are come to Her Highnesse understanding: hee thinketh that he hath no way of sure standing, but by terrour, and opinion of his puissant greatnesse; whereby hee would hold Her Majesty, and the Realme in thraldome, as his father did in his time before him. And then for that he well remembreth the true saying, *Malus custos diuturnitatis, metus*: he must provide shortly that those which feare him, be not able to hurt him: and consequently you know what must follow, by the example of King *Edward*, who feared Duke *Dudley* extremely, for that hee had cut off his two Vncles heads, and the Duke tooke order that hee should never live to revenge the same. For it is a settled rule of Machivel, which the *Dudleys* doe observe: *That, where you have once done a great injury, there must you never forgive.*

Cicero in  
Officio.

A rule of  
Machivell  
observed by  
the *Dudleys*.

But I will tell you (my friends) and I will tell you no untruth, for that I know what I speake herein, and am privie to the state of my Lord in this behalfe, and of mens opinions and affections towards him within the Realme. Most certaine it is, that he is strong by the present favour of the Prince (as hath been shewed before) in respect whereof, hee is admitted also as chiefe patron of the *Huntington* faction, though neither loved, nor greatly trusted of the same: but let her Majesty once turne her countenance aside from him in good earnest, and speake but the word only, that justice shall take place against him: and I will undertake with gaging of both my life and little lands that God hath given me, that without sturre or trouble, or any danger in the world, the Beare shall be taken to Her Majesties hand, and fast chained to a stake, with mouzel cord, collar and ring, and all other things necessary: for that Her Majesty shall baite him at her pleasure, without all danger of byting, breaking loose, or any other inconvenience whatsoever.

*Leycest.* strong  
only by Her  
Majesties  
favour.

An offer made  
for taking and  
tying the  
Bear.

For (Sirs) you must not thinke, that this man holdeth any thing abroad in the Realme but by violence, and that only upon her Majesties favour and countenance towards him. Hee hath not any thing of his owne, either from his ancestors, or of himselfe, to stay upon, in mens hearts or conceits: he hath not ancient nobility, as other of our Realme have, wherby mens affections are greatly moved. His father *Iohn Dudley* was the first noble of his line: who raysed and made himselfe bigge by supplanting of other, and by setting debate among the Nobility: as also his Grandfather *Edmond*, a most wicked Promoter, and wretched Petifoger, enriched himself by other mens ruines: both of them condemned Traytors, though different in quality, the one being a Cousener, and the other a Tyrant, and both of their vices conioyned, collected, and comprised (with many more additions) in this man (or beast rather) which is *Robert*, the third of their kinne and kind. So that, from his ancestors, this Lord receiveth neither honour nor honesty, but only succession of treason and infamy.

*Leicester*  
what he  
receiveth  
from his  
ancestors.

And yet in himselfe hath hee much lesse of good, wherewith to procure himselfe love or credit among men, then these ancestors of his had; he being a man wholly abandoned of humane vertue, and devoted to wickednesse, which maketh men odible both to God and man. In his father (no doubt) there were to bee seene many excellent good parts, if they had beene ioyned, with faith, honesty, moderation, and loyaltie. For all the world knoweth, that he was very wise, valiant, magnanimous, liberall, and assured friendly where hee once promised: of all which vertues, my Lord his sonne, hath neither shew nor shadow, but only a certaine false representation of

The  
Comparison  
of *Leicester*  
with his  
father.

the first, being crafty and subtile to deceive, and ingenious to wickednesse. For as for valour, he hath as much as hath a mouse: his magnanimity, is base sordidity: his liberality, rapine: his friendship, plaine fraud, holding only for his gaine, and no otherwise, though it were bound with a thousand oaths; of which he maketh as great account, as hens doe of cackling, but only for his commodity; using them specially, and in greatest number, when most hee meaneth to deceive. Namely, if he sweare solemnly by his *George*, or by the eternall God, then be sure it is a false lye: for these are observations in the Court: and sometimes in his owne lodging; in like case his manner is to take up and sweare by the Bible, whereby a Gentleman of good account, and one that seemeth to follow him (as many doe that like him but a little) protested to me of his knowledge, that in a very short space, he observed him, wittingly and willingly, to be forsworne sixteene times.

The  
weakenesse  
of *Leist.* if  
her Majesty  
turne but her  
countenance  
from him.

This man therefore, so contemptible by his ancestors, so odible of himselfe, so plunged, overwhelmed, and defamed in all vice, so envied in the Court, so detested in the countrey, and not trusted of his own and dearest friends: nay (which I am privie to) so misliked and hated of his owne servants about him, for his beastly life, nigardy, and Atheisme (being never seene yet, to say one private prayer within his Chamber in his life) as they desire nothing in this world so much as his ruine, and that they may be the first, to lay hands upon him for revenge. This man (I say) so broken both within and without, is it possible that Her Majesty, and her wise Councell should feare? I can never beleieve it; or if it be so, it is Gods permission without all cause, for punishment of our sinnes: for that this man, if hee once perceive indeed that they feare him, will handle them accordingly, and play the Beare indeed: Which inconvenience I hope they will have care to prevent, and so I leave it to God, and them; craving pardon of my Lord of *Leicester* for my boldnesse, if I have beene too plaine with him. And so I pray you let us goe to supper, for I see my servant expecting yonder at the gallerie doore, to call us downe.

Lawyer.  
The end and  
departure  
from the  
Gallerie.

To that, said the Lawyer, I am content with all my heart; and I would it had beene sooner, for that I am afraid, lest any by chance have over-heard us here since night. For my owne part, I must say, that I have not beene at such a conference this seven yeares, nor meane to be hereafter, if I may escape well with this; wherof I am sure I shall dreame this fort-night, and think oftner of my Lord of *Leicester*, then ever I had entended: God amend him and me both. But if ever I heare at other hands of these matters hereafter, I shall surely be quak-britch, and thinke every bush a theefe. And with that, came up the Mistris of the house, to fetch us downe to supper, and so all was husht, saving that at supper a Gentleman or two began againe to speake of my Lord, and that so conformable to some of our former speech (as indeed it is the common talke at tables every where) that the old Lawyer began to shrink and be appaled and to cast dry lookes upon the Gentleman our friend, doubting least something had beene discovered of our conference. But indeed it was not so.

FINIS.

## PIA ET VTILIS MEDITATIO,

desumpta ex libro Iobi. CAP. 20.

*HOC scio a principio, ex quo positus est homo super terram, quod laus impiorum, brevis fit, ex gaudium hipocritæ ad instar puncti. Si ascenderit usque ad cælum superbia eius, et caput eius nubes tetigerit: quasi sterquilinum in fine perdetur, et qui eum viderant, dicent, ubi est? velut somnium avolans non invenietur, transiet sicut visio nocturna. Oculus qui eum viderat, non videbit, neque; ultra intuebitur eum locus suus. Filii ejus atterentur egestate, & manus illius reddent ei laborem suum. Ossa ejus implebuntur vitiis adolescentiæ eius, & cum eo in pulvere dormient. Panis eius in utero illius; vertetur in fel aspidum intrinsecus. Divitias quas devoravit, e. vomet, & de ventre illius extrahet eas Deus. Caput aspidum surget, & occidet eum linguam vipræ. Luet quæ fecit omnia, nec tamen consumetur. Iuxta multitudinem adinventionum suarum, sic & sustinebit. Quoniam confringens nudabit pauperes: domum rapuit, & non ædificavit eam: nec est satiatus venter eius, & cum habuerit quæ concupierit, possidere non poterit. Non remansit de cibo eius, & propterea non permanebit de bonis eius. Cum satiatus fuerit, arctabitur, æstuabit, & omnis dolor irruet super eum. Vtinam impleatur venter eius, ut imitat in eum (Deus) iram furoris sui, & pluat super illum bellum suum. Fugiet arma ferrea, & irruet in arcum æreum. Gladius educus & egrediens de vagina sua, & fulgurans in amaritudine sua: Omnes tenebræ absconditæ sunt in occultis eius. Devorabit eum ignis qui non succenditur, affligetur relictus in tabernaculo suo. Apertur erit germen domus illius, detrahetur in die furoris dei. Hæc est pars hominis impij, à deo, & hæreditas verborum eius à domino.*

## A GODLY AND PROFITABLE MEDITATION,

*taken out of the 20 Chapter of the Booke of Job.*

The wicked  
mans pompe.

His joy.  
His pride.  
His fall.

His children.

His old age.

His bread.

His  
restitution.

His  
punishment.

His  
wickednesse.

His griefe.

His affliction.

His  
damnation.

His posterity.

THIS I know from the first, that man was placed upon earth, that the praise (or applause) given to wicked men, endureth but a little, and the joy of an hypocrite, is but for a moment. Though his pride were so great as to mount to heaven, and his head should touch the skies: yet in the end shall hee come to perdition as a dung-hill, and they who beheld him (in glory before) shall say, where is hee? he shall bee found as a flying dreame, and as a phantasie by night shall fade away. The eye that beheld him before, shall no more see him, not yet shall his place (of honour) ever more behold him. His children shall bee worne out with beggary, and his owne hands shall returne upon him his sorrow. His (old) bones shall bee replenished with the vices of his youth, and they shall sleepe with him in his grave. His bread in his belly, shall be turned inwardly into the gaule of Serpents. The riches which hee hath devoured, hee shall vomit foorth againe, and God shall pull them foorth of his belly. Hee shall suck the head of Cocatrices, and the (venemous) tongues of adders shall slay him. Hee shall sustaine due punishment for all the wickednesse that hee hath committed, nor yet shall hee have end or consumation thereof. Hee shall suffer according to the multitude of all his wicked inventions. For that by violence hee hath spoiled the poore, made havock of his house, and not builded the same. His wombe is never satisfied, and yet when hee hath that which hee desired, hee shall not bee able to possesse the same. There remaineth no part of his meat (for the poore :) and therefore there shall remaine nothing of his goods. When his belly is full, then shall hee begin to bee straitened, then shall hee sweat, and all kind of sorrow shall rush upon him. I would his belly were once full, that God might send foorth upon him the rage of his fury, and raine upon him his warre. Hee shall flie away from iron weapons, and runne upon a bow of brasse. A drawne sword comming out of his skabard shall flash as lightning in his bitternesse. All darknesse lie hidden for him in secret: the fire that needeth no kindling shall devoure him, and hee shall bee tormented alone in his tabernacle. The off-spring of his house shall bee made open, and pulled downe, in the day of Gods fury. This is the portion of a wicked man from God, and this is the inheritance of his substance from the Lord.

FINIS.

FACSIMILE  
OF THE  
MANUSCRIPT.

Nevill

Mr. ffrauncis Bacon  
of Tribute or giving what is dew



Nevill

By Christ religio fons refusing  
your religion your selves  
repenting as in Christ  
most refusinge of any &  
ne vile velis  
ne vile velis  
refreshing ye hart  
laden with grief and  
oppression of heart  
Nullis annis iam transactis  
Nulla fides est in pactis  
Mell in ore Verba lactis  
Helt in Corde ffrauncis in factis  
your lovinge  
friend  
honorific abilitie in line  
speech  
business of speech

Esquier agt

The praise of the worthiest vertue  
The praise of the worthiest affection  
The praise of the worthiest power  
The praise of the worthiest person  
and consort

By Mr. ffrauncis Thomas  
By Mr. ffrauncis Bacon of Gr  
turner

Greis Inn in the  
Philip against monsieur  
revealed

Earle of Arundells letter to the Queen  
from your service  
Speaches for my Lord of Essex at the tyll  
Speech for my Lord of Sussex tilt  
more than externally  
Loycesters Common Wealth Incerbo autore  
Ley  
Orations at Graies Inne revells

Dyr Quenes Mate many  
Earle of Arundles By Mr. ffrauncis Bacon Bacon  
letter to the Quenes mlt  
Earle of A By Mr  
By Mr  
Essaies by the same author printed

By Mr. ffrauncis William Shakespeare  
Richard the second Shakespeare  
Richard the third ffrauncis

Bacon end of the Asmund and Cornelia Thomas  
Asmund and Cornelia revealing Ile of Dogs fr mont Thom Thom  
dary through every cranny by Thomas Nashe & inferior plauers  
peepes and see of William Shakespeare Thomas

Shak Sh Shak Shakespeare  
Shak your  
William Shakespeare

William Shakespeare Wlm Wlm  
Will  
William Shakspe  
Shakespeare

Reuill

Thomas Bacon

of Trillick or giving Sat 21. 1. 11

memorandum  
 We the  
 the praise of the worthiest  
 the praise of the worthiest  
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 the praise of the worthiest







Imbratio  
Imbratio  
Imbratio

Impressus

Impressus  
Esse in

Aut per se in

Imbratio

Imbratio



Mr. ffr. Bacon of tribute  
or giving that which is due

- 1 the praise of the worthiest vertue
- 2 the praise of the worthiest affection
- 3 the praise of the worthiest power
- 4 the praise of the worthiest person



A	C
B	D

A Since we are with let me govern our leisure. A. C. D. con-  
cuerie man do honor to that which he esteems most and  
praise. A a vaine notion and ignorance of times are not. A  
vire then himus A obey

### The praise of fortitude

my praise shalbe dedicated to the noblest of the vertues. To  
discerne betwene good and evil. Justice to stande in the  
selfe love and strictie. Temperance to divide amongst betwene  
reason. weise be good innocent thinge. As the vertue of  
vertue of resolution to vertue of effect is fortitude. For  
a man largely endued with prudence for temperance of a  
great danger and lest fortitude absent for selfe. we  
of the wisdom. Gato for power exten to beelde  
or to entende for remedy. or rather doth not for first  
disable him to take a true deince of the pill. and for a  
for pill so affarge and seaze his senses that he cannot  
for his delivrance. weise be for gooder grounds of  
various of experience rules and cautions  
was wont at leisure to consider compare and com-  
digested <sup>thoughts</sup> and compounded. their witts are defared.  
alarme of perill Gato. as Hermitias some dore  
inspire or else a blast of wind disordered. Sibillas  
wisdom is for first being but flies. his spirit  
somewell in his haine. are gone to jurer of  
abandoned to his perills by the time  
Some would gaur tould or

good entertainment to persuade men of the strength of their  
 but deserveth in the execution and trial. Great pain then  
 or regard can wisdom borrow. Not yet tryeth a man though  
 not forcasting and providing for perils nor never come  
 as if it could embrace all accidents but when danger  
 cometh unexpected it traucth a man in pray to his adventure  
 But more lest prudence to make lade enriched by curio-  
 mation and assault of sodaine danger obtaine for sor-  
 gumption and tinge fortitude and to see how she en-  
 tertaynteth the challenges of fortune. Dote a man flie  
 before of knowledge or suffer before he feeleth. Not but  
 straightwaies to the country of the perill maketh a man more  
 to see himself. It awaketh his senses. It questioneth his monies  
 it redoubteth his forces. It looketh for courage & courage & will  
 he take. Gold of curio lieth of remedie. It discomfitteth not  
 be concluded. Not may be distressed. It staileth not to debate for  
 rest wile of execution. That is instant. Not to operate  
 present wile of device for it to come. But it is allwaies  
 in his owne power. According in the price of himself and wealth  
 coming into his. Thus is fortitude the marshalle of reason  
 for the honor of the will & the part of reason. It is the first of  
 consideration & begets justice. For further vertue & vertue of  
 refuge to the vertue of Cor. 13. Dote not for also for the  
 self under the pretence of fortitude. Let a man be abstinent  
 from wrong. That is due. Gratefull in obligation & yet  
 dismantled & open to shame or dolor. What will ensue. Not  
 not for monies of a tyrant make him condempne & im-  
 will. Not for some of tortures make him appeale his de-  
 friend and that intubus. But paine of the tongue  
 philosophy. It begetteth to be persuaded & it is. In-  
 tribute to nature to yield to the rigor of paine to  
 to himself. It would give obedience to doe the law  
 would forgive him if he did. So that now is  
 = note & was wont to weighe out true man  
 out of his senses. It is at the laborion of the  
 remaynt. Not him but us a furie to be  
 it is to be. As for temperance



you cannot submit yo<sup>r</sup> self to too Condemnations of  
 steps fall to despoil will you effort to be admirer  
 neither followe others nor spare your selfe? will  
 nothing but an oration and Confession of others. of  
 matter no daungler no malignitie no diffidence  
 I desire but a release from perturbations. I seek  
 tenor of mind. I will not do because I will not  
 desire because I will not feare to want. For no  
 shame all this preparation is but to keepe a faine  
 w<sup>ch</sup> floridus et iocunde to challenge & to cease  
 feare & griefe Cometh sure as all men are subie  
 a feare & griefe w<sup>ch</sup> misse not of <sup>repose</sup> ~~disturbance~~ of a  
 ante de a disturbance. Even now do gate go of eye ten  
 ge not ten offere it a great folio of ge gate p<sup>ro</sup>vide  
 of himselfe is not of fyre? doth ge not take it for a ma  
 if a man could make himselfe impossible of pleasure of se  
 selfe as one labor impossible of paine. no ex<sup>tra</sup> contrarie  
 introduction to become stronger griefes, to desire often, w<sup>ch</sup>  
 lett floridus and strength of mind assist Comperance  
 followeth then? a man is able to do pleasures & to so  
 containe himselfe in the enemy or greatest downfall. in  
 tame himselfe suer in pleasures growing in prosperitie  
 & in adversitie some of strength. Therefore it is floridus  
 or Constitute or enable all vertues. of pleasure  
 inquires w<sup>ch</sup> being limited & guided no solutio of Comen  
 of language shall make but it is the blessing of no  
 marriage of the senses, the feast and gaudy of the  
 on quiet life. on the lett men dissonne the w<sup>ch</sup> ent  
 nature from the bayte of attention, lett the m<sup>an</sup> disson  
 pleasant in the some & to fall from that w<sup>ch</sup> is p<sup>ro</sup>  
 in w<sup>ch</sup> true and solide pleasures can be  
 may you no sport feare make no  
 w<sup>ch</sup> a desire. done

kind fruition of his pleasure for he is in a maze, of is as a dove that  
 come into an unwalled good pasture and stand at a gaze & frantly  
 feedes so of ever imagineth some ill is hid in euer good. so as he is  
 pleasures be as solid as the sandes being corrupted wth continuall fears  
 and doubtis. And yet the pleasure is past to gethertly it a dreame  
 a surfeit. of desire a false ioy. he is ungratefull to nature to nature  
 for still hee some of greife printeth so deep and too some of delight  
 as the one somethyng onto him a trusty for oyer a receipt. Judge  
 then how nature and perfect pleasures are to him to whom proportion  
 is a raste, enjoyment is an amangement remembrance is a distaste &  
 bitterness. Again hee doth somethyng increase and encrease all pleasures  
 as inuoluntarily but it is a rule that to a fearful man naturall is  
 now is suspect. so as that no season kind or any pleasures, doth  
 taint and embaste him. but now lest he take breath and  
 looke about if he can see any thing els good in nature. Vertue  
 the perfection of nature, pleasure the fruit of nature, is there  
 any thing els? O beautes the ornament of nature. I cannot  
 say that Fortitude will make a crooked man straight, nor a foule  
 person faire. but to is I may say I feare is the mother of deformitie  
 and I neuer saw a man overcome in feare. so it is Fortitude that  
 a giueth a grace, a maiestie, a beautes to all unons. but now doe  
 we staid so long upon the merit of Fortitude in governing ours it is  
 a protector and benefactor to all it is good and hee not gaster to  
 conquest & victories to requite. giue us not come well, because it  
 more meritorious to suer then to subdue, and more oppression  
 Compende Orbill aiffensions then to defeat forraigne one  
 to prefer now we haue serued our Fortitude maketh it more  
 meritorious and unons of vertue to the last and fruition of the  
 time to sett forth what it can do against these extreame  
 these orills, lett them be instructed. are they, vices of boia  
 flammes of name, starstie of moanes, solitudo of fraim  
 regie none of these are ill wth Fortitude, we can  
 violatung the respect of our minde in them solitudo  
 of regie. It conditeth them it taketh away their  
 promiteth them to nature. lett no man que  
 accidens, wth gats included in ouer  
 of the parts and

but it is feare and impatience that are the sergeants of  
 and subduer, as to those things being otherwise free men. so  
 drawe from men lamentation, outcries, expresse of griefe, a  
 tennie but the inward traitor. nothing is to be feared but  
 grievous but to yelde to griefe. For lett you remember you  
 this vertue floritudo, your entertained state for mischance.  
 Consider neyther it noroughe any alteration in them, neyther  
 and putt out of frame your ordinarie fassions and behaviours  
 at the stormes. that attempted to persecute to gold the maske  
 of seeming objects sort of delicate tender and effeminate. no  
 and advise men to the meditation of death, was not to be to  
 of death, nor they professed to usuage, must it not be a terror  
 when there is no end of preparation, ought they not to shewe  
 it as if they had liued, and not to liue as though they continued  
 more manfullie to ouercome the deluptuous spirit that dombed it as  
 nature worke of nature. but to returne lesse leade about on  
 to take some of those we shew you men of known valour and  
 see neyther death, presentee, gale, summe as returned for ord  
 of contempt and custome. Julius Caesar the worthiest man  
 the bravest soldier, a man of the greatest honor and one that g  
 reall and effectuall eloquence that euer man had. not a somer  
 eloquence, for a confirmed speaker, but an eloquence of action  
 of affairs, an eloquence that had suppressed a great mutiny  
 word (Quirites) in eloquence to imprint and worke upon our  
 spirit. for now neyther he dauid from himself at his death. for  
 that was given him on the necke by Casca. that stood beside him  
 turned about and caught gold of his arm. traitor Casca when  
 the wordes were but plaine. but yett he could upon studie grow  
 more apt to denie the conspirator. and to imite himselfe should  
 gelpe. he would rather give lost a thousand liues. should he ge  
 light had ben also in imploring of aide, should he giue aid u  
 in the temple of the gods. it was not decent for Casca to  
 his person was more honorable then the place. Therefore  
 he was as effectuall to imite himselfe but yett retained of man  
 ned Casca. he was nothing astonished or singled in  
 not to let his any thing skillfull in the voyce  
 by name giue us it was



I left you and thy companions; well thy Aunt about him being unarmed and as  
 a stag at bay, yet of never feared to quit himself in defence, ymposing of him  
 weapons and all by means of an unarmed man. A forme excellentlie well  
 becoming a militarie man, though he knew it would not helpe. At last  
 when Marcus Brutus gave him a wound (and thou my sonne) Noble  
 Caesar he had no weapon to wound Brutus againe. but this word wounded  
 this word pierced him this word consumed him this word made him ever  
 despair of a small good success of his warre although he sawe most and his  
 proceeding at the first prosperous. This word infused him out at his brayles  
 when his affaies stood in most prosperous termes, to break out chaufed into  
 this verse. at mid. fore. miera et latonia perdidit infans. This word turned it  
 self afterwards into the likeness of an ill spirit. that appeared unto him in  
 his tent. In the end when his strength failed him, yet he took an generall  
 regard to fall in Consul's manner and bowed after the manner of the  
 apparall of that time. So as that complement that point of honor was it had  
 ben more for a lady to have promoued unto her modestie and honor of her  
 name (summe born) so great a monarch so great a Captaine into strong and  
 violent in assault forgot not at the point of death. Augustus Caesar  
 his nephew, a man noting of that strength and courage but of greater  
 assurance and potentie of mynde. he that by thy Dauides and reports of  
 his Comendament had appalled a barbarous Conspirator, he that would  
 euer raise himself Euthanasiam in summe a dainty and a fine man, was  
 he not thy same man at his end. Livia beare in mind our marriage line  
 and farewell. a farewell at length for a large affaie. Vespasian a man  
 exceedingly given to the humor of dauides, and iesting. his last words  
 if I be not more deceived I am upon the point to be made a god  
 at death, at himself and at the times. Celerius (Aseptimus) a  
 man of infinite pursuit of action and debate (if there be  
 for me to doe) and surely he would not goe. thy like words  
 gave thee if he had ben but going to sleep. Cicerone be  
 at home any thing in his last words to the judges said  
 conclude that I may be dismissed to dye and you to live  
 knowes Jupiter) he left not his Iunge for  
 opinion to his friends before. So the Roman  
 was left some in the inquisition of the  
 by Commandment of Dauides





To that by all these examples it appeareth, how for  
 much more in sure sort that our very spirit subit on false  
 peace of deate or sense of his appoynted, neyther will it  
 praise of his noble vertue fortitude that it make it  
 principall deate of honor to praye to overcome the feare of  
 barbarous custome false superstitions violent passion  
 more but all these doo it is madnes sometimes doo it, the  
 want by another, but they leave not the mind in entire  
 to onlie worke of fortitude, as for <sup>virtues</sup> ~~virtues~~ deliver us for  
 vices, but fortitude alone delivereth us from the passions

A Your speache were able to warme the harte of a coward for eyther  
 into him, or else if nothing could prevail with him but feare yett it  
 more afraid of feare it selfe then of any perill. C he deserveth to be  
 speach. A I have some what you will deserve

### The praise of Love

my praise shall be dedicated to the happyest state of the mind, the  
 equacion of mynde to the noblest affection. The vertues are in  
 the eye and lampes of the mynde they reframe it they limit it they  
 they amplify it not they are as the mill when it is sett upon a  
 stone it grinde out a rare & good a graine to make it weare  
 but in the meane while the stone loseth the ragged lease of suffer  
 vertues they pollysh the mynde they make it, they out blinde the  
 excellent forme, but commonly they take of more of the nature  
 they be the affections we make the mynde servaill, that quies  
 oppresse it selfe, and to fastenatt and bynde it selfe. Doe we not  
 agilitie of bodie no sleep, nor practice can bring a man to  
 sometimes bare or fary, makes him doe. In the melting of an  
 iron a myghtie dead fire doe as more as a small fire is blowne  
 mettall than a myghtie gale, we get doe as more as the blowe of  
 is motion to exfor that unimate all thinge it is vaine to find  
 strengthe of nature can overcome a violent motion the aff  
 motions of the mynde, the vertues pray, in eyes of the aff  
 and wondering is the life of the ruder modestie is the life  
 indignation the life of fortitude All vertues take men  
 power and strength from the affections. Doe  
 the happyed and contented

For us for the other affections they be but subduing of nature. they seek  
 compassions and refused from that which is not in our own union. we say that  
 we is good. they seek to expect that we is contrary not to attract that we  
 is agreeable. have and give the traits of nature. but fullness a trial for  
 to desire many things and to desire many things. put a confession that we is impossible  
 desire of revenge. the supplying of a need. all these they endeavor to keep  
 the main force of nature to preserve us from loss and diminution. but love  
 is a pure game and advantage in nature it is not a good by comparison but  
 a true good. it is not an ease of pain but a true pleasure of pleasure and  
 therefore when our minds are somnolent. when they are not as it were in friends  
 and therefore out of taste but when we be in prosperity when we want no-  
 thing then is the season the opportunity and the spring of love. and as it  
 springeth not out of ill so is it not contrary to ill. it is not like the virtuous  
 we by a steep and craggy way conduct us to a place. and are care  
 taste. we at first and after give in honorable eyes. but the first aspect  
 of love and all that followeth is gracious and pleasant. And now to us  
 for that some commend virtue fortitude and to some they commend  
 it because it doth restrain us from the excesses of fortune. yet doth  
 it not in sure possession. as doth love. for fortitude strengthens the mind  
 but it quencheth it no being. it leaveth it empty. it ministereth unto it no apt  
 contemplation to fix it self upon that it may be more easily directed  
 from the source of labour and leave the reason we you would in no wise  
 admit to be competitors with fortitude in this honor as barbarous customs  
 and false superstitions do be is notwithstanding more easily and effectually  
 than that virtue. but love doth so fill and possess all the powers of the  
 mind as it sweeteneth the palate of all deformities. let no man hear  
 of fortune that in the love of love no fortune can be surer  
 as shall be able to overcome two. when two souls are wound in one. it  
 hath no power to divide the fortune we shall no force can depart.  
 therefore some love hath no state in ill as have other affections  
 no part in all. as virtue hath the beginning. yet it admitteth  
 ill and therein excludeth fortitude. now let us see what  
 in good is exempt in all. now therefore will I leave love  
 all this while loved by gods. I will quit from the Alps  
 from now it is spelled. for this is a principle of nature  
 which is full of multiplicity. so as it is not for

simple pleasure that attendeth the

me from the world



verio. generalit in peregrinatione to strange Countie  
 montes. unione listening after newes games. s. Cumme  
 peritultis. teio deligete cote also wnde it selfe like  
 teioir attensons in sure sorte no fere deligete (and graced  
 Commendat teio to the apperception. now teio for loue  
 Curiofite. a most sweete game. yett not infinite changed.  
 yett and most various adventures. I demunde in loue no  
 farons by, abscondes, teioise redintygarons by infinites  
 by alteration of attyre and change of professions. but as it  
 vppon teio stopp. but about all othes no more merritt and deu-  
 tion is the gratefullst noueltie. and it is not onolie the  
 ledge that please but the certaintie. for assuredlie no  
 at any tyme the minde of anotkor but in loue. loue is the one  
 the garto. so as not for no sure tribute Curiofite and a  
 paye vnto loue. being made if. not the best yett the swe-  
 ron of all othes. now tyme no beire vppon ambition in at  
 and general. Promises vnto ge now ceased from his tyme  
 a pountins. a Child will leide it ouer his dog and bird. is not  
 mightie as it infecte the soule. quere vnto not guard of an  
 vpon men desire not the meate of the best tast but the best is de-  
 or rarely procured not vntill the strengt Atrum potabile. &  
 is not loue a gale of Ambition a pention of Communitie in  
 onolie the Communitie of the person but of the will. do. not not  
 quite statte. Ambition is most sweet because honor is more  
 not obseuo for the thesaurie. and beginning of sorted  
 summe down to taught in men's myndes, vnto the onfor influe-  
 tues mentium the desolatione of understandinge. So teio as if  
 of sure optrauant and shining spiritte. to seek a Communitie  
 reasons & beleeves. so it is naturall in man to aspie to romane  
 and operiallie of attensons and nature. Anotkor deligete minis-  
 nature of man by teio Ambition. is to cause sure as may be  
 fin. many are the desires and desired vnto more statte a  
 the pount representaton of teio by forsiges do the dispo-  
 prosperities. but teio not one for sette no fall teio to his  
 cannot be vnto felitude. but teio that he shall cause a part  
 the teio mind. A further mirare and do the affe-  
 a Continence and if it may be the  
 Com. and naturall desire of

taking a good and comfortable impression of a mans self from the admiration  
 and endowments estimation of objects. which not flatterie euer ingratiate but  
 there is no flatterie like to that of a louer. One said well that a mans self  
 was the most flattered, but he should haue excepted his louer. for the  
 proudest man that euer was neuer thought so well of him as his louer him  
 self of the person loued. Consider againe the delight of commendation in desire  
 without emulation. if two be but sett at one game of play or labor together  
 in some one worke or intention, make you well pleased you well disposed, you  
 your contented they be. so then if mindes are sharpened against mindes as iron  
 is against iron, in such a way, what shall we thinke of that reason & communion  
 of mindes which loue worketh not vigor neit alacritie mist it quod. beoold fur-  
 ther the nature of the mind of man, it is euer in mans obseruation. & remission  
 and relaxation of mind is a most necessarie part of life. it is noted also that  
 absolute Idleness and leisure when the mind is altogether without object is but  
 languishing and wearines. more precious then is loue which is the sweetest repose  
 from trauailed mind and affaires. and the sweetest employ in leisure & Idleness  
 to us in one respect it is like the carter Autus, in the other it is like Penelope  
 which we entertaine time and quiette of opportunity. for it is not an ill  
 commendation to say if loue is in Idleness mans occupation but it outregeth the busi-  
 sun a twint be Idles the first years of his usurpation. for Arrius & Virginia, could  
 the state and enleagu'd enemies of Octavius Caesar mount not to the same see An-  
 tony and Cleopatra. so it is not the fruits of Idleness but the remedies. Lastly to  
 leaue we reuelous begimeth no dishonour not to the eye is the most affecting sense  
 they be taken & expressions to the contrarie. the humor of melancholie importu-  
 nete least & are our own not it not the memory of the most affecting dislike.  
 for not one that is entering to be melancholic shall you stare in complai-  
 sance someth or odious fauor represented to his imagination represented  
 imagination, not but alwaies meditating of fearefull and distastefull  
 things domestic but the eye is first contented in loue. being so and fasten'd  
 proportionable. ~~the~~ decent motions. Therefore if it delight of some  
 understanding be tribute to loue, if loue affordeth the sweetest  
 to him that desireth to know, the most commendation to him  
 in the comfortablest promise to him that he hath into his  
 him that he hath to himself. the most flattering glori-  
 fication to him, not advantage. the greatest union of mind to  
 his self from action the most acceptable con-  
 sidering object to the most imprinting sense. Let  
 therefore the beams of many pleasures  
 be kindle and kindle.

A I was thinking what you did deserve and hearing you speake  
 it is of I nature as a man cannot well tell who should knowe  
 tryed it or he that hath not tryed it. I thought you deserved a  
 ben granted but seldome and that is Amare et sapere. he hath  
 his ladies favor. but here sitteth one as if he neither gave n.  
 to speake. D I was never niggard of myne care but I was  
 my speake. A the wrong were not to us but to y<sup>e</sup> you some  
 shall decaue it of your praise and celebration

### The praise of knowledge

B Silent more the best celebration of that we I meant to com-  
 mune <sup>not</sup> of. Silence before we are silent is not made and we are  
 silent in sure a noise and tumult of want and popular op-  
 portune delectate to the myne it selfe. the mind is the myne in  
 a myne is but we are the knowledge. the myne it self is but in  
 = ledge. How knowledge is a double of it self. the true of be-  
 of knowing is all one; we the pleasures of the affection great  
 of the strong. and we not the pleasures of the intellect great  
 pleasures of the affection. Is not that onely a true and no  
 = sure we are of it there is no sanctio. Is not that knowledge alone  
 the mind of all perturbations. how many things be there we  
 are not. how many things do we esteem and value more the  
 want imagination, these all proportioned estimations. that be the  
 errors, that turne into the storms of perturbations. Is there be  
 cappinged as for a mind, minds to be raised about the confusion  
 we are of may cause a respect of the order of nature and the  
 is there but a vain onely of delight and not of destruction. Is  
 not of benefit? Shall we not ascribe the things of nature, we  
 as the beauty of the flower is true, barren? Shall we not the  
 produce worthy of it and to onely the life of man with  
 modities. but shall I make the garland to be put upon a man  
 would any man believe me if I should write this upon the  
 is now in use. are we the things by one poore intention to  
 the learning that hath been in many hundred years. the  
 unfixed make some small impement of things in  
 = ment in experimenting make us stumble upon some  
 = butations of the learned never brought to be  
 = men things we knowe



Aetiquo; or the arte of reason may grow up in popular studies. but they  
 rather fast obscuritie, then give light to the contemplation of nature, all  
 the philosophy of nature, which now science is called the philosophy  
 of the Ancients or that of the Ancients. That the Ancients  
 gave the foundation in words, in generation, in confutation, in sermons  
 Auditories in schools in disputations. The Ancients are no one of them  
 save you Christians ever children. they knowe little antiquitie. They know  
 (except fables) not more about the sciences before the conclusion. they know  
 but a small portion of the world. That of the Ancients gave the foun-  
 dation in metaphysics, in maxims, in traditions and obscuritie. It was  
 that way of religion, but the best principle of it is populus vult  
 decipi. so as I knowe no great difference betwene these great philo-  
 sophers. but that the one is a loud ringing fallie, the other a whispering  
 folly. the one is gathered out of a few vulgar observations, and the other  
 out of a few experiments of the furnace. the one would faile to multiply  
 words, and the other the faile to multiply gods, we would smile at  
 Aristotle, when he admitteth determinate and invariableness of the sciences  
 as if there were not the like in the bowels of the earth. They be the  
 confines and borders of these great kingdoms, where the continuall  
 alterations and intrusions are. The superfluous and upper part of the earth  
 is full of vanity. the superfluous and lower parts of the sciences we may  
 call the middle region of the world is full of vanity. there is more  
 spirit in the one place we cannot be brought into matter, there is more  
 matter in the other place we cannot be brought into spirit. the  
 world is as the vast ground betwene the borders. we would  
 smile at the Astronomers, I, meant not to say, now we are not  
 the earth about, but the ancient Astronomers is faint the moon  
 faintest of the planets in motion. and if left in order the sun  
 and so are compelled to imagine a double motion, whereas  
 we they call a contrarie motion is but an abatement of  
 fixed stars out of Saturne and Saturne leaving behind  
 so in term and the rest all is but one motion, and the nearer  
 a motion also, we see the air and the water as principal  
 mixed, but we do it in a conference of pleasures out-  
 in sort that pretending to knowe more I should  
 it was because almost all things may  
 it is the same.

But alas they learne nothing to grow but to boldeue: that  
 that others knowe that, w<sup>ch</sup> they knowe not. and after  
 w<sup>ch</sup> they knowe not. but make facilitie to boldeue, imput  
 timor to askeuer, glorie to knowe, doubt to Contradict,  
 to scarce, seeking to inge, in wordes, resting in a quill of na  
 the like quill ben, in tinge, w<sup>ch</sup> gaw forbidden the capite.  
 munde of man and the nature of tinge and in place tinge  
 to vnde morion and blynde opinion. and what the poster  
 so conoriable a matre may, it is not care to Consider. & inti  
 tion. Detullerit a tinge not farr out of the way. the need  
 knowe before. w<sup>ch</sup> a tinge gaw those 3 made in the world  
 the one in the state of learning and in the other in the state of  
 tinge in the state of treasure commodities and navigation  
 as I say, but stumbled upon, and lusted on his tinge. The  
 the souerain tye of man lute is in knowledge. w<sup>ch</sup> the man  
 referred w<sup>ch</sup> tinge w<sup>ch</sup> the treasure cannot buy, nor w<sup>ch</sup>  
 command. the spirit and intelligences can giue no new  
 stamen and disouerses cannot saile more they grow. in  
 nature in opinions, but are to fall to grow in necessities. but  
 led by for inuention, we should command for in inuon



A. This speache deserueth to be understood. B. now s<sup>r</sup> you  
 made this mocion: I wishe you no greater reuenge, but  
 us 3 sad intercepted your choise. A. that were small  
 for then I would be silent. B. that were against your on  
 but I should smile to see you put to goe ouer the same m

### The praise of his soueraigne

8  
 No praise of magnanimitie nor of loue nor of knowledge can  
 praise & pluntate and nourishe magnanimitie by for open  
 person and knowledge by the yeare and science of for  
 yeares be so fame on self, w<sup>ch</sup> are they self. and self  
 magnanimitie no doubt consisteth in contempt of



The most dangerous alteration that can be in a state, the alteration of religion:  
 for it doth not only a sovereignty establish & continued by justice & laws  
 when a custom might have been in for people a more absolute obedience, when  
 trial of for servants might have made for more assured, when to employ,  
 when for reputation of for public and certain might have made for govern-  
 more redoubted: but at the same time of for reign, when for was-  
 gence in integrity, for servants front enemies, unto for the diverse part  
 not maintained, for none part not confirmed, next for doth for reduce or  
 receive for realms to the religion of the state about for. Let the will in  
 relation of the subject might be counterwailed by the good correspondence in  
 foreign parts but contrariwise permit the introduction of a religion exterminated  
 and persecuted both at home and abroad. For proceeding herein is not by  
 degrees, and by stealth, but absolute and at once, thus the sinners are here  
 to be the strength of the found in leagues and alliances, not great <sup>versus</sup> potent  
 confederations: no, but the found for it alone in wars not for necessity  
 and mightest neighbors. For stood single and alone, in league on his  
 one that after for people had made his wars, left for to make for  
 own peace. One that would never by any jurisdiction be moved to enter  
 the treaties, and one that more easily proceed from doubtful terms of  
 amity to the first note of hostility. Yet, notwithstanding all this  
 the opposition so great, the support so weak, the reason so proper, yet  
 I say because it was in religion, when for was nourished and brought  
 up, a religion that freed for subjects from violence of foreign power  
 and moved the true religion, for brought to pass the great  
 not suggest unmovable to so noble a resolution. For again  
 that a deep and secret conspiracy was plotted against for  
 privileged by <sup>subtle</sup> fables, inspired by violent and des-  
 pised and strengthened by words and for, and the sa-  
 vour for, and yet the nature of the affair required  
 before the apprehension of any of the plots, was sent  
 in guard of the divine providence and for own pro-  
 perty. Conspiracy is in for eye, to suffer them to  
 take a petition of it and it was dismissed for  
 the of contrivance sure minds and for



in that countenance



For provisions infinite, the sitting forty night  
of Europe; it was not seen that the people, and  
manner was any thing altered, not a cloud of heat  
was seen there day after day, but the excellent an-  
tiquities for inspire for comfort, unimpaired for nobility,  
for the people still remain as is noble appearance, not onely  
commemorate the fortune not to be, but it was for the  
and not to be for, nor for testified not no less demonstra-  
tion in the same. Therefore the magnanimity that in  
greatness of alteration, nor the danger of conspiracy, nor  
enemies, is more than general. For contempt of the  
offer to consider for purposed. The gate, raised in a  
and noble way, for people greatness multiplied, not  
and singularly devoted. The wanted not the examples of  
the armies in the memorable voyages and invasions prosper  
and increased, by sundry for noble progenitors. The gate  
pleasures as well of climate and sugar as of quinquina and  
gate raised, during the minorities of some of the nobles  
during the factions & divisions of the people upon decay-  
able quarrels, and during the embracing greatness of some  
minds of myself as recall courage to my burthen, as the  
dread of strength, and yet see the sitting with the same  
Scotland that day in a manner eclipse for island, the unit  
the same comfort, not for spite, recall commodity of trade  
to our nation were most meet to be united to this throne  
possession of the one and refused the sovereignty of the other  
standing & greatness of the means, the justice of the pro-  
visions of opportunities, the gate continued and the firm  
made the possession for required the limits of the domain  
the limits of the name by a peace that gate claimed a  
merit. who day acknowledge that the gate ben no  
the influence upon the day upon the gate to  
virtue of Clementine or merit  
not proper and nature

is drawn in question no a dimmerous encounter betwene justice & violence  
 and therefore weo eue note that we did repent after we was established  
 in our kingdom of the wronge done in our former state. weo do, not re-  
 member how we haue repented the rudenes and rigor of our former by a word  
 and that not bitter but full. and sure we haue repented the excellencie of our  
 wit, for my impression of the wrong. For one fault is it not too man-  
 yst, togt sure, for raighe not standing that principle that princes should  
 not neglect the commonwealthes wronges included in themselves. yett when it is a  
 question of drawing the sword, there is eue a conflict betwene the iustice of  
 our place ioynd, not the necessitie of our estate, for our owne royalt element  
 wee as a seueraigne and precious bulme continuallie distillts from our former  
 sword, and fullts into the wounds of mine that haue murdred for others  
 for lawes. For for our beneficence, what kind of persons haue eue  
 created. during our most happy raighe, but haue had the benefit of our  
 vertues conveyed unto them. take a booke and consider whether they haue  
 not extended to subiectes to neighbors to <sup>separate</sup> strangers yea to our greatest  
 enemies. For our subiectes, never shall we beginne in surge made of be-  
 nificence no presently it stee to our remembrance. Shall we speake of the  
 purging away the cross of religion the geauitlie treasure or that of monie  
 the carthlie treasure. the greater was bought before and the latter destructive  
 not to be forgotten. For weo knowe not that knowe wee haue in matters  
 of estate of the greates absurdities and fraudes that arise of the diuersity  
 lequall estimation of monie from the generall, and sub 3 may terme it natura-  
 estimation of the mettalls, and againe of the mettains and warreing  
 of times a verie laboringe of bodenages and abuses, and yett sure no  
 ymited gaine made to our profit of tomorrow to our owne people  
 the myne to the reasonnes and receipts, these shall you find  
 of rentes not standing the alteration of prices and the ex-  
 but the ouerbulence beside a reasonable time left for the  
 and reward of seruantes. no raising of customes not  
 timuall charges of sitting to sea. no extremities taken  
 penall lawes. a meane used by some kinge for the  
 treasures. A few forfeitures indeede not take  
 but sett ouer to some others for triall onlie no  
 lawes to be well gouerned wee haue

last

last full canons, and so after during his minority, and  
~~his minority and protector~~. In the times between the  
 Ireland when the same faction of the House of Stuart still held  
 and strengthened by desire of retaining government in the most  
 dangerous and cruel and cruel blood wars in the Kingdom  
 - part the imminent nobility by requiring them one against the  
 the realm as the candle that is lighted at both ends, and the  
 queen being more of the blood royal and other wise of the  
 in the realm and great threats of the crown opposed to  
 against their misdeeds, and to their support called in the  
 unto them their place for a place of security, for with  
 tender regard <sup>to the king</sup> towards that young king whose name was  
 king of his own strength. He embraced the enterprise  
 reputation which the same year suddenly made great  
 conclusion made to his peers as they would themselves  
 they agreed themselves against and pursued by parts rather  
 than of good confederates, and that after great demonstration  
 for subjection to the crown to his due will, reports of  
 the great mortality, and by the hand of god and the Father be  
 is known. He did much more after the coming of that time  
 events so it was less of the great nobles and barons, yet that  
 diminished the number of the crown, and namely of that year  
 by it sure strength, as by the and no other thing they subsisted  
 And least any man should sinisterly and maliciously enter  
 did nourish these divisions, who knoweth not no faithful and  
 and earnest solicitation he used by the Embassadors and  
 be successful. and to their mother to move them to leave  
 of purification and to retain their own authority and  
 the union of their subjects. well considered it had been  
 followed as it was prudent and unimpaired given. At  
 at this day a most flourishing Kingdom was it now a  
 And now at last, when the same House of Stuart being one  
 of god, which themselves are but the crown and the same  
 their infinite aspires practices wrought the miracles of  
 King in position long established to play again for  
 title of a Conqueror, without any name in  
 out any combination in substance of him



so violent as the flame thereby was little asswaged so as he was forced  
 to implore for aid and succor. Consider how benign care & compassion  
 came to him to his distressed requeste of the King and he soon after  
 being by the sacrilegious hand of a wretched Garthman lifted up against  
 the sacred person of his naturall soueraigne taken away (ingodwin not  
 the criminous death of) Guise but the innocent blood wher he had given  
 still by the instigation of him and his counsell was retenged, and this was  
 = this gent who now reigneth came to the throne. It will not be for-  
 gotten by so grateful a king nor by so observing an age, how needie  
 how opportune, and reasonable, how soverall and sufficient for succor  
 were, when by the misadventure of him at that time and preserved him to his better  
 fortune. And thus since in these tedious manner we have come to see the  
 a, which or monster with many leaders, he hath surprised him with  
 = force with treasure, with horses, and with the help of one whom he had  
 most what shall I speak of the <sup>the Duke of</sup> Don Ant. <sup>his</sup> fortune a  
 devoted Catholicus on his commencing unto her by his oppressed State what  
 should I speak of the great storme of a mighty invasion, not in separa-  
 = tion but in unity by the Duke upon the King of Scotland, Catholic assistance  
 on his by the grace of her reputation, with the graine Signior is greater  
 then that of all the States of Europe put together. But let me  
 rest upon the honorable and continuall ayde and releife. He hath given  
 to the distressed and desolate people of the lowe Countie, a people com-  
 = mended unto her by unrent confederacie and daily entreaties, by her  
 cause so innocent and their fortune so lamentable, and yet notwithstanding  
 to keepe the Conformitie of her owne proceedinge neuer stammer with the  
 words of ambition or malice he refused the soveraintie of duero to  
 vnto offered unto her with great instance, to have been accepted in  
 contentment both of her owne people and theirs, and instill to be  
 her in respect of the gentilitie of Exame, or in respect of the  
 libertie and privileges of these subiecte, and with one charge  
 to the King of Exame and his people. He hath taken upon  
 defense and protection without any further availe or assist  
 the honor and merit of her benignitie, a people that  
 their naturall King on his by passion and wrath in  
 phrases (oratio vacillari) consumed his means up  
 to verifie that wher he hath said to her manette o  
 best enemies. Let it be remembered wher he  
 = let King of Exame and her first son  
 married to him for her

It is by god's decree, and by the will of the people, and all good men  
 in charge that the same people by despairs should not be  
 distressed to conclude from the obedience of the king of. Ex  
 clude into the arms of a stranger; informing us it is most  
 did our dismune the Duke of Anjou from that ungodly nobis  
 attention. It said Duke and the obstinatio we see same dai  
 king of. Ex. Lister to four the mightie and general mer  
 boare in mind the general for benigntie gate bon is la  
 on and imbiton of the Ex. For to beginne we the Ex. of  
 Apostolicke sta is become but a donatius. Well of the king of  
 Christ is become the king of. Ex. Charles, he wrote the bo  
 non pope for the treasure of the oliv. he was wont to exclud  
 Cardinalls. and to leave the clerron free of the rest. but now  
 and present circulis some small number all, inapable and  
 not the Conclau put in onlie for Cullor over of one or two  
 Italit. 1800 be like little quillote of pro golde long interrupte  
 a great Lord. Ex. It is true is turned, by the done the su  
 the king, Out and mingled in finitio. a Countrey of Rodam  
 Har more of the rivers. Portugal d'urped by no other strength  
 strength and primitive. the Lord Countrey. wound upon born  
 not to possesse them (for they were possesse by him before) but t  
 an absolute and martiall govern. to suppress their libertie.  
 to is our attempt upon Oragon, the pare Indies, no one  
 Religion generally brought in from the flauds no one  
 Contrario Countrey. by the will of from free men to be flauds in  
 most miserable Condition. The Indes practises in the  
 ambition in Commis Domat. Scotland. the east ton  
 unknown, then it is for govern and for govern alone that ge  
 prais and forts of all Europe we gate left to is proud n  
 from overthrowing all. if any state be yett free from his farr  
 bonaces to the. if there be any state no one the farron is  
 fixed not Euler troubles, if there be any state under his  
 no one so. If there be any state subert to gr  
 moderate libertie. no one so. If there be any state subert to gr  
 to be the meritt of the Governor. Quod, that stand  
 for. It is to be some of the booms of the  
 in the Countrey of peace. not so many flau  
 so many desires, and in meritt  
 Quod, left forth in my time.



her beautie a gaulte surges like she should gawe, that was brought forth  
 betwene two of the goodliest primors of the world in, strenghts of her eyes  
 in gaulte of her lous & gate not ben immited, neyther no an ouer liborall nor  
 an ouer curious doct. that gate not ben softned by an embrall slip still, vnder  
 the riste but strenghtened by rest of the pure and open aire. that still retaint  
 flower and riger of youth. For the beautie and mune graces of her visage  
 what Gullies are fine enough for sure a portraiture? Let no light poete be  
 used for sure a description, but the best and the exallost

of her gate  
 et vera incessu paruit dea

of her porte  
 nec vox hominem sonat

of her eyes  
 et latus oculis afflarat honores

of her colour  
 Indu sanguineo veluti violauerit ostro, siquis Ebur

of her nose  
 et rosea ceruice refulgit

of her breast  
 ueste summs collecta fluentes

of her haire  
 am brassag coma diuini vertice odorem spirauere

If this be a description sett in heart the blame that onste & noyso. No fall &  
 spente of her rare qualities of complem<sup>te</sup>. nor as they be excellent in v<sup>er</sup>ty  
 teomelues. so they gawe almalos besides somers of a Quene. and as Quene  
 of seadones and vailts neyther in apperell, so me tyme in all her qual  
 teore is somers that flute from flentation and rest moute the mnde to  
 = template the more. No should & spake of her excellent quiffe of her  
 = ring a character of the greatnes of her comenre. the ginge of her  
 and the shewnes of her nature. no lip, no gate, no eye is  
 te dize wordes and glammre, neyther at pleasure se can qui  
 tyne tyme to tyme? be it se seane to dunt him to onromag  
 maye him. her admirable is her discourse, neyther it be  
 or lous. no parictio of knowledge? no carenes of them  
 of wordes? no gate of pfferance? do it not apper  
 out be as the adamant of excellenre nor dravete on  
 or nere, out of any writing or speare the best  
 se omirete it farre aboue, & rulene no or on  
 or speare onlie & language neyther the best  
 = neyther the studious learne neyther and

againe murthered from hym matters in hand to the con-  
 = ration of such persons. We should & wonder on the people of  
 nature we cannot endure to be looked on with a discontented  
 of our selves we make for ourselves as a journey by land  
 of the person is like an imbarquing by sea. Is for the  
 person. so that shall note the prudent temper for the  
 the one side maintaining the man of the degrees and on the other  
 of the self by looking into the estate through too few remedies  
 in seeking and finding good servants, a pointe we have for  
 politics still in making and training good servants a per-  
 a profound direction in assigning and appropriating some of  
 implorent. for penetrating such in discharging such minds  
 wonderfull art in keeping good servants, in satisfaction and re-  
 = tentious with in contriving plots and subvertes for ex-  
 = suring the propertie of others. for recreation. for some  
 of the occasions. so that shall consider of the of the other  
 not will be thought; no so shall never cease to wonder at  
 so shall wonder the least. & in so dangerous times when  
 mine, summe so extraordinary passions so violent corruption  
 imulations so deep, furrows so many, the gate not to stand  
 some & scattered in just spiritus. for to speak of the part  
 object to me no aspect in the part of the we & did the service  
 of the honor, and it is that the love of the <sup>heart</sup> and that  
 for it is that we make all other virtues more service, no  
 desire. Let the leave children & leave no other memories  
 = for atermis holes. resolved in the future the memories of the  
 so shall not leave any of the spiritus but of the good  
 his lyne some spent after his date or else was unfortunate  
 = then. Would a man have children to be slayne by his  
 posthumus of Alexander & great who? or to call them  
 as Augustus Caesar called his? peruse the catalogue  
 Julius Caesar Flavius Vespasian Septimius Severus &  
 created and the false soldiers. generari et liberi summa  
 divina, and therefore his objection removed. Let  
 him of the spiritus, a mate of fortune for  
 adversitie he pulled at the first, to give  
 spiritus that should follow, and to make  
 name. well he cometh to & etc



w<sup>ch</sup> he drew from these Commodities, by grante Commodities to winne for  
 state from them, might have made a mighty & terrible magnificence  
 against for, whose mottoe on a resolution, not unlike to vsb for means  
 of these Comodities but to spende and consume all his other means  
 his treasures of his Indies, and the forces of his ill Compacted dominions  
 there and upon them. The Earle of Northumberland in the North before the  
 Duke of Northfolke (who moved was the strength in the Duke of North-  
 motion) was killed in the North and executed by his time. The King  
 Sebastian of Portugall, whom the King of Spaine would have had for  
 shewed, that it was a doctor intention to reuenge the Kingdoms then to  
 enlarge it, though some think he did artificially nourish him in the North  
 is still in power not his wife in Africa, then came the King of Spaine  
 but not power to make all things in readiness during the late Cardinalls  
 time for the conquest of Portugall, whereby he is desirous of invading  
 England was flattered in, but of some years and by the means, was put  
 in danger at a time for some respect more to his disadvantage, and the same  
 misfortune like as if he had been attempted before, it had the time more  
 proper and favorable, so likewise had it in his advantage had a better  
 spoken afterwards. For if it had been deferred till time that the league  
 had been better confirmed in the North no doubt it would have been if the  
 Duke of Guise (who was the onlie man of North on that side) had lived  
 and the Duke of Guise would have had large gain on him (had he not been im-  
 mated by the English Antonio against the Duke of Guise) and then some  
 maritime towns had been gotten into the hands of the league, it had been a  
 great service and strength to that enterprise. The purpose to conquest  
 of them, whose Comode and pollitic it had been, to have temporized  
 have disposed not to waste coming to Guise, that through  
 misfortune of their enterprise, they might have been brought into  
 of goodness in state and in the Comode, they Comode  
 instigation of some fugitive rebels to advise them not to  
 for the sake of Rome but to agree best not to their own  
 into separate states, disband and declare themselves  
 in the Comode and taking heronism, as there is  
 lances introduced for the representing of that sort,  
 were become more support. No should I have  
 spiritus miraculously started. The North  
 it is not given in many of them for  
 to the state of for one





inception and as we see in the mirror of the body, that passions of fear  
and furie do enable men to feat, not longe practice and strenght cannot  
overcome. so it quite contrarie observed by one of the univ. & virtuous  
was not onlie so dilligently attained by reason right in custom  
but that he was in a state of minde in apprehension not to be overcomen  
it overcame straightwaies it into that vertue not is consequent  
about that action. so is it in it self all the vertues and more, not  
state of minde may be termed (as it hath been) magnanimitie or gener-  
all fortitude

The former not is by habit as it is upon almost to the meanest spirit  
so it is full of imperfections and inequalities. great is the promotion of  
stronger nature and by strenght applied to the particular or overcom-  
ing, then because more labour to frame the will. sometimes by  
proceeding by so small and similar degrees that the minde proceeds not  
the change, sometimes by gathering strenght of minde by use  
to make us it, more some good, some or violent passions and the  
enterprising the minde not the remembrance of that from proceeding  
all together, till a new advantage may be taken for moving to  
former, and so completing the minde not emulation and admiration &  
praises and sure clearishate colours. but the other though it over-  
best spirit yet it is possible the minde variable though not the body of  
all vertues at once, so is to some degree to be a work of nature and  
the other <sup>the art</sup> of nature. For as in carving a statue by the hand  
nature the face is in forming, the residue is in rude stone but in <sup>nature</sup> ~~completing~~  
these fellowes straight the wisdom of all <sup>parts</sup> ~~note~~ at once we are led by  
time to maturity and perfection, so in proceeding by habit we resist  
man himself to temperance, we do not more proceed to  
- titude, and more less by unassuming fortitude do we resist  
- binitie but in perfecting the minde of these apprehensions regard  
- nimitie consisting, the strenght of the spirit will move  
inferior vertues more naturallie and lively then any by  
be obtained

An admirable touching vertue

Forasmuch as men complain of the want of civility  
Englande duels putt in vnto the mind into us  
that euery particular person take he upon him  
to quarrell to conspire and to excommunicate  
and sometimes to excommunicate  
into of the other is a matter

und to Corrobie, both that Corrobie w<sup>ch</sup> is gathered in ge  
und likewise that w<sup>ch</sup> is gathered in Sacramentis  
also the ordinance of god. I have thought good to the  
standing to set downe the limittes and boundes of the  
same of private censures, onlie in briefe notes to  
some that is by proportion addeins und of greater loo  
the matter is it deserveth

The first exposition is that no man ought in absence to  
the fault or offences of an other, though trulie, or  
some good occasion. And therefore if I would disswade  
him from the company of another, if I would  
from marrying w<sup>ch</sup> I sure an honest or from following  
person, I may in modest and discreet sort if I  
not shal so parte und separate to I in the quarte  
und of sure a person for his better caution und in  
I be desirous to admonish another of a private fault  
it may be better done by a means then by my selfe  
quaint some apt person to sende over may performe  
me; In this und the like cases when I speak of  
I speak as a privie, when I speak without occasion I  
may und then tu quis es qui iudicas servu alicui, dom  
cadit. und of which it is said accuse not thy ruler nor  
forge all evil speaking in absence though it be true, or  
upon occasion is no Christian doctrine but the right of busi  
ness persons. The next position is concerning admonition  
unto negroes is that the fault negor upon ones admitt  
grounded be race und strange known unto us. Also  
that speaking before he knoweth, it is folliw und shame  
James saith. Lett euery man be swift to heare, und  
or affirm, und let him saith of, that they knowe not  
evil, und in that they knowe, they are comforted, no in  
they go together, for when men are of such conse  
not, they are for the most part affectionate in that they  
for lett none that is unlearned assume to admonish  
in controversies of religion. Lett not one that has  
sette out, into the affaires of the world assume to  
their proceedings in such cases nor commonlie  
recovered upon many circumstances  
ble. So further if it be matter in  
of euery mans knowe.



Let second article or parte is, that we performe it w<sup>th</sup>out generation of  
 the admonished, it must be done w<sup>th</sup>out words on one parte & w<sup>th</sup>out  
 dispute on the other parte & w<sup>th</sup>out that if all others cause most aucteritie  
 to admonish, in the regulation yett are expressly admonished by St  
 Pauls not to provoke them. 3. the third part or article is that it be  
 done w<sup>th</sup>out somelimes. Admonition is a severe action, w<sup>th</sup>in the for must  
 be done w<sup>th</sup>out. Lett men beware how they draw into contention  
 any good action, by absurd and ridiculous handling. munit. p<sup>re</sup>cept.  
 throw out all count of the service of god. Lett one promote  
 w<sup>th</sup>out of decoru. goe not from house to house w<sup>th</sup>out liberality of  
 decoru and to avoid contempt. Eger for a man of a severe austere  
 straight life may admonish for a small fault, a man of a loose  
 more libertie cannot. A familiar friend may admonish, a stranger  
 in this may not. At one time and at one place, a man may ad-  
 monish at another time and another place a man may not. 4. the  
 last article or parte touching admonition is, that men neglect retri-  
 bute it unreasonable nor combersome nor que it over easilie  
 give you admonish. doe go offende straight in the same fault  
 againe. not a man must give time to words. Examine not  
 tongue you be no sudden words. Charitas omnia sperat. yett after  
 you have expected a convenient time then you may redouble it  
 give it not over Charitas omnia sustinet. The last exposition is touching  
 separation. there be 2 Considerations, w<sup>th</sup>in men should separate &  
 be comforted from the company of those men that offende. The first  
 is for double of contagion, the next is for the humiliation and recovery  
 of the offender. the former is generall and itargeth a shew to those  
 w<sup>th</sup>in we are out of the severeus host & w<sup>th</sup>in the severe and a  
 man ought in sobriety to measure his own strength w<sup>th</sup> the  
 company. he is like to be w<sup>th</sup>in or to be weakened &  
 amongst those that are tied w<sup>th</sup> the severe strait bond.  
 in this respect of contagion is justifiable. A good some  
 separate himself from an infected for no more than a be-  
 min may separate himself from an unbeloveng go-  
 like gold in the fire of bloud, illumina-  
 gion, purity, and purification, men may not be  
 w<sup>th</sup>in the severe of god quite tied from an  
 w<sup>th</sup>in the severe to severe himself, and  
 and w<sup>th</sup>in the severe of god quite tied from an  
 separate. also to learn w<sup>th</sup>in the severe  
 ing of the severe, w<sup>th</sup>in the severe

vide



The controuersies betweene I will not enter into, no indigne to at-  
 tribute requiete rather most be on any other than this more we all know  
 and confesse to be so not of the ghost nature for they are not  
 thing of the greatest mysteries of nature, sure is detoured to demerits  
 after their first peace for many yeares, & from the heretiques mo-  
 ued our our questions and made strange annotations of the nature  
 and person of Christ, and the Catholique fathers were compelled to  
 followe them not all subtilties of conditions and determinations to speake  
 them from their occasions and to take them in their laborinties. for as  
 it is sayde said. Illis temporibus ingemola res fuit esse christianis: ne  
 quer uno loco commingit the greater parte of the world of god  
 of not it is true & non seruatur unitas in credendo nisi eadem sit in  
 colendo: sure is more the controuersies of the east and west  
 seuerely, touching images, and sure are many of these betweene  
 the church of Rome, and us, as about the adoration of the sacrament  
 and of like. but we contende about ceremonies and things in  
 different about the doctrine, pollitic and government of the church  
 in more kinde (if we would but remember that the ancient and  
 true kinde of unitie, are one faith one Baptisme and not one  
 ceremony one pollitic, if we would observe amongst Christians  
 not is permed by our fauor. he that is not against us is with us. If  
 we could but remember that the long differentia rituum commendat uni-  
 tatem doctrinae and he habet religio qua sunt aeternitatis, habet qua sunt  
 temporis. If we did but knowe the vertues of Solomon and plemens to  
 speak commended by St. James, controuersies of the world, were  
 close to us and growe together. but most especially if we reue-  
 leant the ouerweining and turbulent humors of these times  
 neuerus & blessed proceedinge of the apostles, and fathers of  
 this church not in the like and greater causes, not  
 assertions and positions but to deliver themselves and  
 needs no other remedie at all. si eadem consulis fratri  
 debetur consilienti reuerentia cu non debeat fides aff-  
 ruit contented to speake thus ego non doctus I and  
 cundū consiliū meū utroque to my comfort. I  
 say non ego sed doctus not I but the lord, yea in  
 demerits of his iudgment to comfort the sim-  
 onthio vnderstande out of Solomon. that the  
 things being the auident are the

things being the auident are the

things being the auident are the

by the worst men de concordia ordinu gawe not abs-  
 to memorie the extremities of on both parte. so as it  
 qui pacem tractat non repetitis conditionibus diffidij is in  
 dulcedine pacis fallit quam equitate componit. And  
 more then time, there were in end and surcast h  
 -est and deformed manner of writting latelie onto  
 matter of religion is gauded in the stile of the stage  
 carnest writting must not be condemned. for mon  
 soldie and without affection about thinge nor the  
 pollitiquo man may write from his braine without  
 of his gunt us in a speculation that supporte not  
 a poling Christian will support in his worde a gea-  
 zeale or loue. The latter of nor us I should write  
 being more proper for theis times. yett is the former  
 also by great examples. but to haue all without  
 compassion towards exiles or indignation towards  
 tourne religion into a Comedie or Satyre, to scorne  
 wounds nor a laughing contemner. and on the  
 and sturilitie sometime in one sentence, is a thinge  
 double wounded of a Christian, and saint blossoming  
 guide of a sober man, non est maior confusio quam ser-  
 mario of religion, and the contempt and deformatio  
 -drulous and as distant as thinge may be. Two  
 so gawe I ouer knowe of theisme curious quostio-  
 botting, now that theise two reigned in one no dou-  
 will make no small question: and eene, I doe  
 the wisdom and religion of that Bishoppe will  
 pumpe of theis kinde, more remembered that a fool  
 shamed but not in becoming like unto him and  
 matter nor so gauded, and not the person nor whom  
 -king of the matter and grauitie of a Judge in him  
 did smile, the beloued it not. as if he should gawe  
 parted or glimmered onto some of miche, yett  
 none so polluted, nor a wound of the action, in  
 could not reuise it: more more ouer. he is to be  
 in diuines disputing about folles thinge. And  
 like the intention of him who is it some  
 in no mean pollitico, that he



[illegible]



a tapers. To conclude this point, as it were  
 writinge had ben abortive, and neuer bene of some  
 smre to be some abroad, that they be confused  
 understanding and confusion as contemptate ex  
 some light place. For further that men, bound  
 to adventure to deprive themselves of all sense of  
 their own state and to make them as they give way  
 without in them and more more gone they delight in  
 to turne their laughing into blushing and  
 of a sort, madnes, that they gave in matters of reli  
 disport and pleasure: but he is wronge in of these fun  
 sonst acknowledged, though I perceive neuertheless  
 not some who seek to blurring and exult it. But to  
 surround and consideration of the accident and  
 of these controuersies negeth other parts of construct  
 imputation: I find generally in causes of these ma



1. stands in some or all of these 4 points. The giving of  
 these controuersies, and also the inconsiderate giving  
 of occasion.
2. The next is the spreading and multiplication  
 to a more general expression and contradiction, then in  
 expounding of them, when men in their last part  
 is the passionate and unbrotherly practices and wrong  
 the parts towards the persons care of other for their  
 suppression. The 4 is the causes goulden and enterta  
 in for the drawing of their plume to a more straight  
 themselves, not only importeth a further distinction  
 bodie. The last is the undue and incommensurate expoundi  
 and debating of the controuersies, in way points the m  
 error gate ben already spoken of as that we brought  
 and presence of the abuse first offeth it self to the com  
 men. Now concerning the occasion of controuersies, it  
 need but that the imperfections in the <sup>and their</sup> controuersies in  
 these we gave their place, in the cause, cause such  
 causes and motives of errors and divisions. As  
 23. errors and goodness of the cause continue for  
 and good works, which be these the works indeed  
 deal not the secular states in all liberties & resolu  
 the matter of their calling and the previous or  
 upon them; so long the cause is situated  
 question of it or seeks to depart from it  
 the states and leaders of

integritie becaust heyn gawe lost heyn reputation in the consens of  
 men by derlving heyn stappes from heyn wille wyl heyn trave out to  
 othe. For us men gad, <sup>have found</sup> neede to be continuall in heyn carde nolite exire  
 goe not out, so readie and to departe from heyn heyn upon the ewie vorte  
 And heyn it is truolie noted by one that writeth is a naturall man &  
 heyn incorrupte of floure did for a great tyme maintaine & beare  
 out heyn resolution of 23 yeres and yett latte for he is is double polle  
 of heyn spirituall enemy, eyn by somtortant heyn of life to othe  
 blis and integritie or rone, or by corruption of munde to distrust &  
 drave in yustion true and lausfull heynge. he is conserne my lorde  
 he 23 yeres onto rogon I am witness to my selfe that I stand asserted  
 no I ouget. no contradiction gate supplanted in my that wende that I  
 owe to heyn calling. neith or gate my detraction or calumny embased  
 myne opinion of heyn persons. I knowe some of heyn weds names  
 wro most wrodd wyl heyn accusation. to be men of great rectus  
 alloug heyn indispositions of heyn tyme and heyn wint of correspond  
 mane wrodd is enough to frustrate heyn best mende in heyn cysing  
 of heyn heynge: and for heyn wyl generalie I am condenned wyl. I  
 am no indge to heyn that belongs to so gude a man, neith or gawe I wyl  
 noste, and I knowe it is trulie said of fame & pariter facta atq; iusta  
 cancelat. heyn taparond wyl not all from one wyl, heyn gawe many  
 and different onemio, readie to wylent slander, more readie to  
 simplifit it, and most readie to bolowit, and magnes mendacii credu  
 litas: but if any, be, against rogon heyn surname 23 yeres gate not a  
 few heynge, but mane heynge if any gawe lost his first loue, if any be  
 neith or, wylt nor wyl, if any gawe stumblid <sup>for</sup> at heyn heynge  
 in sorte that he cannot stit wyl, wyl entred ill, it is time to go returne  
 rogon heyn are fallen and confirm heyn heynge that remaine.  
 great is heyn wylt of heyn fault. et eoru causa abhorreant a sacris  
 and for heyn cause did men abhor & adoraron of god. but  
 it be, heyn, wyl gawe. I ouget to deface heyn and wyl cont  
 heyn wro not to be trusted. It is heyn wylt of Eulomon  
 heyn be not reproached not not in heynge, but that is  
 wylt consernt, into a modest intersturon of heyn don  
 Amgle woulde give no sentenre of blasphemie against  
 slanderer but said morepet te doius, heyn lorde rebul  
 Et paula heynge against him that did wyltute for  
 firamond violence he did, mistio denomne &  
 percutiet te doius heyn lorde: wyl strike heyn  
 or heynge heyn gad gone to farr and returne  
 or. ipsu quamuis mane nomen et  
 moret heyn. all and heyn

2

5.



Question: many good Antientes spoke religiously in  
 words of the Gospell, as if essentially it did forbid  
 them to be called sacerdotes nominamur et non sumus, &  
 bonum opus amplectaris episcopus esse non potes. yet the  
 less they to man's doubt of their calling or ordination  
 of themselves is the nature and humors of some  
 newer countete a kind of person we loue the best  
 not in ceremony or temple, but in an inward auer-  
 sion our minds in drawing them to depend  
 on and to further knowledge at their lips: these men  
 rebuke of Diotrophes the loue of preeminence, and no  
 sure privilege do lay upon another sort of nature  
 to them, men quere gloria in obsequio. these persons, in  
 inuoluntarily for these whom they haue chosen for their  
 sort for they may rather see men of vengeances, and  
 understanding, carried away with partiall respect of  
 the intire appearance of godly names & persons. pa-  
 sequitur, plures nomina reru, plurimi nomina magistroru. A bo-  
 general affectio nre uocatioe inderclared inder-  
 emulatioe nre discontentu, all we together breake for  
 rone, sure as cite or vultate frute sobritie or peare: the  
 applic themselues: the diuorsities are the states of the  
 the is dispart, regim it gate ben and is derided unto the rest  
 C. There shall be no longer a numero of the number, the  
 themselues before they knowe their light hand from their  
 true we is said transeat ab ignorantia ad preiudiciu. and  
 strong iudgm in their way: but as it is well noted in te-  
 diciu et simile preiudiciu or veritas corrumpitur. in the me-  
 honorable names of summitie, separation, and disciplin  
 the forwarding, so no contentions and bill scales  
 the be excepte theist golles theinge be brought first to b-  
 themselues they shall in the sollicitation of the reare of  
 to preede from their nall soure, yett I will eu con-  
 dyostle paulo cu sit inter eos zelus et contentio nomi-  
 and themselues they esteeme the temporizing of souer-  
 of mans wisdom and humane pollit, and thei-  
 led by the wisdom we is from above yett I say  
 est ista sapientia de sursum descendens sed terre-  
 bi enim zelus et contentio ibi inconstantia e-  
 instancie it is said by a boaine  
 sed ad pmutacoe

laudable & wise to approve unto the acknowledgment of more good than one:  
 the detestation of the excess of which is proved that of Sabellius was col-  
 ding for exorable & diffinitude was iniquity extended in the trinitie  
 fled so far from him as he feared upon that other extreme to deny the  
 distinction of persons, and to say they were but one like names of several  
 offices and dispensations; yea most of the excesses and sins of the  
 church have sprung up of this root, wile men have made it as it  
 were their scale, by way to measure the bounds of the most perfect  
 religion, taking it by the furthest distance of the error last condemned  
 that be posthumous heresies, excesses that arise out of the excess of the  
 excesses, that are extreme and uncorrected: this manner of appearance  
 doth in some degree possess man in our times. they think it  
 the truest course to take what is good, and by measuring what  
 is more or less opposite to the church of Rome; be it otherwise  
 be it pollute or govern yea be it other institution of greater value  
 that is ever most perfect, and is removed most degrees from that  
 church, and that is ever polluted and blighted and corrupted  
 in our appearance, and it. This is a subtle and a dangerous  
 conceit for men to entertain not to delude themselves, more  
 apt to seduce the people, and most apt of all to calumniate their  
 adversaries. this surmise (but that a notorious condemna-  
 tion of that position was before our eyes) had long since brought  
 us to the rebaptism of the children, baptized according to the gen-  
 eral Catholic religion. for I see that this is a matter of more  
 like reason, and is the governing of profits is a matter abso-  
 lutely maintained. It is more meet that men know  
 how they be abused by this opinion, and that they know it is  
 consideration of more greater wisdom, and sobriety, to be re-  
 vived; not that in the general demolition of the institutions  
 of the church of Rome, there were not such many actions and im-  
 pious good, mixed with the bad, as to extend to purge the  
 extended evils, and thus it is the way to make a  
 good harvest is already begun. 4 the fourth and  
 the fifth controversies in matters we did also trouble the  
 former times, is the partial alteration and imitation  
 of the church. For many of our men during the time  
 and since, having been conversant in the church  
 a great impression of government there order  
 sought to intrude the same upon our church  
 sentiamus in eo quod convenit non in eo  
 that our church doth not

compelled

be ~~to~~ to imitate and make alterations. qui n  
tatem dei oppugnat reuelatam in verbo qui noua  
dei oppugnat reuelatam in rebus. Soe' beut bringer  
resistete ego, uice q' god reuealed in his word. Soe'  
nre bringe. resistete ego uice q' god reuealed in his  
concl' providentiam dei cu' verbo dei, tale conspice  
q' god asmoell q' his word. neit' or yet do I admitt  
Eugeit' uice ualido and conuentionis better te  
abusos uice talon aruait. teo uarietio in equale  
is a t'ing q' wonderfull great confusion. and so  
goverm' by Emode nre dole norostimilis ensue uice  
is gard in uice causas but of speciallio in religion n  
nombred in not waiged. equidem fante aduist  
uere q' res est fribam p'oss decreui fugere omne con  
ru nullius enim consilij boni exitu uirgula uidi con  
minuit mala, ed augent potius. nre isto to wonderfu  
q' g'om' all conspicio no q' Emode gate' d' for teo  
goverm' q' teo Eugeit'. Soe' for teo deuuaron q' 2  
pure lilo causas ~~teo~~ mist' orise, gate' tauget teo uice  
patriarches and primates, no teo abuse q' teom sinne  
mon to distilo teom. but it mille said Soe' to teo fruite  
abroade and inuice. Soe' f' pur teat f' be' sores teo lord  
his blessinge and graces upon teo Eugeit' an g'm'ia  
yett it is not good teat we fall a nombing q' teom. in  
p'ore gate' made to more uainton. it maie be also  
be leate to derogate from teo honor q' teo Eugeit', n  
nomous scandalls, teat teo fruite uice no teo teo in  
appeare greatesst a f'ant q'. I knowe teo maie caus  
stint orderis for teo Eugeit' q' smidic exerts. but  
consider q' teo consursos q' some, x'p'no asmoell uice  
no upon Eugeit' f' teinto q' f' f'aring q' a platonist  
certe uicia, nascitiles partis anima, sunt gradu prauiora qu  
cibilis tamen et occultiora. a matter teat uice and n  
unmrent conuentionis o' q' 2' f' teo. god gr'unt f'  
teat nre teo Eugeit' no teo d'm' nre teo. Q'liuo  
best fruit and not no teo bruer, nre f' teisto nre q'  
-ostitabile. and teat inuice touing q' orationis q'  
: non breuissio to set downe teo g'om' and q'  
uice. uice, uice, uice, teo f'aring q'  
intention is to be stopped n  
hucare n



offered

upon, and just like abuse: hence they went on to condemn & govern  
 of the people, as in the same manner to do of the corruption of the  
 to the people and to extend to similar institutions in the people as not  
 sufficiently delivered from the corruption of former times: and lastly  
 they are admitted to define of in order and perpetual form of policies  
 in the people, not without consideration of possibility or foresight  
 of peril and perturbation of the people and state, must be erected  
 and planted by the magistrates: & hence they say; of the, not able to keep  
 footing in so steep a ground descend further, that the same must be  
 enticed into and attempted by the people at their peril not without atten-  
 ding the establishment of authority: and some in the mean time refuse  
 to communicate with us, referring us to law, no people, this gate  
 for the oppression of that side. I mean of the generalities. For I  
 know some persons being of the nature not only to lead extremities  
 but also to fall to them without degrees now at the greatest straits at  
 first. <sup>which hath</sup> The other part, not maintaining the present government of  
 the people gate not kept one to another. First the government was  
 now intended to be corrupt they maintained to be long indifferent  
 and exposed the examples of the good times of the people to the gallows  
 not now made onto them, because they were used in the latter super-  
 stitious times. Then now they also content mildly to acknowledge  
 many misdeeds in the people, as to do some by amongst of some  
 not yet according to the wisdom taught by our saviour Christ.  
 now not yet strike to be pulled by, least it might spoil and sup-  
 plant the good turn, but to grow on together until the harvest.  
 After they grow to a more absolute defence & maintenance of  
 all the orders of the people and stiffly to hold that nothing was  
 to be innovated, yet because it was not, yet because it was  
 a breach upon the rest. (As for the severe sentences) they  
 fallen to a more severe condemnation of the contrary parts as of  
 and some indifferent persons, gave him bold in open pro-  
 dishonorable and derogatory speech and consuro of the  
 broad. and that so far as some of our men as I ca-  
 ned in foreign parts gave him renounced to be  
 = stood. Thus we see the beginning now modest but  
 violent. so as there is almost as great a distance  
 side from it self, as was at the first of one  
 the people my meaning and store be not  
 into the contrarious conclusions, yet I  
 of the discipline to wage and consi-

new laws are onto the



[illegible]

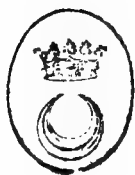


furio and eager inuictuos, and in some fond mi-  
 scellany, begauor towards their persons, to the last  
 exposeth them to derision and obloquie by <sup>libels</sup> ~~libels~~, ~~libels~~  
 persuaded the regali spee. neither doth that other  
 out practised by the worst sorte of them. w<sup>ch</sup> is to be  
 to their ailles certaine vntimelye bandes w<sup>ch</sup> in  
 other Ecclesiastical dignities to gaue the spoyle of the  
 libinge. of these I cannot speake to gaudie. It is in  
 betweene Immoderate and robbers, the one to force  
 to riddle it. The other point regali extaineth to the  
 the present ecclesiastical governm<sup>nt</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> althoughe the  
 butt themselves off from the Communon of the Church  
 after certaine ceremonies and disorders w<sup>ch</sup> are  
 made correspondunt amongst themselves and to the  
 others. and it is truelie said tam sunt mores quidam sc<sup>h</sup>  
 dogmata schismatica. Thus they gaue improprie names  
 the names of zealous sinner and reformed, as if all  
 sold, minglers of golli and wronge tongue and for  
 gea be a man, mued w<sup>th</sup> great vertues and fruitfu-  
 lnesse yett if he be comen not fullie w<sup>th</sup> them they be  
 derogation a diuine and morall man, and somer  
 comatob or some greates regilosophor. w<sup>ch</sup> as the  
 of the structures targete doth extaine to indy and di-  
 religious according to their worles of the second tal-  
 leys of the first were often somerfaulted and prai-  
 serishe. So Et Iohn saith that a man doth vniuersal-  
 ly god, w<sup>ch</sup>om he neuer saw if he loue not his neyghbor,  
 then. and Et James saith this is true religion to visit  
 and the widows. so as that w<sup>ch</sup> is, w<sup>ch</sup> them but regiloso-  
 morall is in the Apostles w<sup>ch</sup> as true religion in.  
 And us in attencion they shall endye the said vertues of the  
 so in knowledge they attribute to themselves light and  
 they saw the Church of England in E. Ed. time, and  
 of her make rayne was but in the brado. and the  
 in these times did somer what for daie-breake, but  
 fulnes of light proceed from themselves. so Ead-  
 munda a Meredonian said, that the flatterers in the  
 but infante and ignorant men. that the  
 in their derres as to refuse that  
 cate coualed:



manner of preaching but <sup>indeed</sup> ~~indeed~~ <sup>indeed</sup> ordering the matter so  
 evidently distinct, for, memorie, deducting <sup>single</sup> and drawing it down  
 for direction and interpreting it not strong proofes and reasons  
 they confute it as a forme of speaking, not borrowing the simplicity  
 of the Gospel and referre it to the repetition of <sup>at</sup> ~~at~~ <sup>Paulo</sup>, speaking  
 of the entering square of mans wisdom. now for their own  
 manner of teaching, is it? surely they report well & worth to  
 common of mind, and bring men well to the question curia  
 tres quid agamus. but that is not enough except they resolve &  
 question the whole matters of controversie, recalcitrate and obiter  
 and as before a people & will answer of any thing; in doctrine  
 of man's goods is little but generalities and repetition, the word  
 the bread of life they tell it, so and do not, they break it not  
 they draw not their directions down ad basus controversie that  
 a man may be warranted in his particular actions, whether  
 they be lawful or not, neither indeed are many of them able  
 to do it, not having want of grounded knowledge, not having  
 want of studie and time. It is an ease and commendous thing  
 to fall for the observation of the Sabbath day, or to speak against  
 unlawfull game, but not actions and works may be done upon  
 the Sabbath day, and not not, and not doubts of game are law-  
 full and in no case, to sett this downe and to cleare the whole  
 matter, not good distinctions and decisions, is a matter of great  
 knowledge and labor and assaye, much meditation & searching  
 in the scriptures and other places of the god hath provided and  
 preserved for instructions: against the same not an equal  
 ground in teaching the people their lawful libertie, as well as the  
 restraints and regulations. but they to make a man cannot go  
 too farre in that the hath ascert of a commandment. they forget  
 their own sinnes on the right hand and on the left, and the  
 word is double edged and cuts on both sides as well the  
 observations as the extreme transgressions. now doubt  
 is unlawfull to sett, where the god hath opened as to open  
 hath sett to bind, where the god hath loosed as to loose  
 has bound? amongst men it is commonlie as ill  
 barkef farre as to disobey commandment. In the  
 for example they have promised generally  
 all entrusted, unlawfull notwithstanding  
 directly reported to have beene blessed for  
 is said by faith to have revealed the  
 have proceeded to upon a sinne

but I make no sounde conceipt, more like to be  
 not so good, w<sup>ch</sup> to beards in men rather w<sup>ch</sup> are  
 disputes, then filliall and true repentance w<sup>ch</sup> is  
 pointe of great m<sup>er</sup>it and w<sup>ch</sup> will is to w<sup>ch</sup>ire  
 great contradictions and all kinde of doctrine. then saie  
 w<sup>ch</sup> is of god, must be suppressed, nor the words of  
 difference, nor the doctrine, make betweene milke in  
 is confirmed and is, w<sup>ch</sup> is that the words be not  
 questions and contradictions take no place, but m<sup>ay</sup>  
 be suspected as a seede of further m<sup>er</sup>it, then  
 guiding the scriptures. For w<sup>ch</sup> is the words of  
 for cause to me, and that the words in a manner di  
 and the words of a speciall grace and support by con  
 tention of the fathers, the words to w<sup>ch</sup> are examples  
 inferiours, and forred allusions. For w<sup>ch</sup> is the words  
 taintie of religion; in other extremities is the words  
 of that the words be a principle and most g<sup>o</sup>llie  
 g<sup>o</sup>llie, kinde as all things else have. no so w<sup>ch</sup> is  
 the words find in the scriptures the words spoken of the words  
 w<sup>ch</sup> are the words made it in manner of the words  
 of the words to have a common precedent, the words  
 of the words of the words, and forred of divine words  
 the words of god be denominated of the words of  
 a words of prayer and not a words of w<sup>ch</sup> are the words  
 the words of god w<sup>ch</sup> are the words in the words of  
 the words will condemn a man as also a w<sup>ch</sup> is the words  
 taintie the words of the words, because the words have no  
 in the words the words of w<sup>ch</sup> are the words, may be so  
 the words move no question. but as farre as I see the words  
 may to speak in the words is accounted a w<sup>ch</sup> are the words. but  
 that not a word that shall g<sup>o</sup>llie for a w<sup>ch</sup> are the words, must  
 to be of the words the words that should be w<sup>ch</sup> are the words, all  
 and m<sup>er</sup>it, the words do fortifie and move by w<sup>ch</sup> are the words  
 sport to the words opinions, and in m<sup>er</sup>it to the words  
 or argument. For I know some of the words would think it  
 of god, to have or words not may be said against the words  
 would be a q<sup>u</sup>od bonu est tenere w<sup>ch</sup> are the words  
 may suffice to offer unto the words a word  
 in the words the words do w<sup>ch</sup> are the words, no and  
 of the words of the words follow



And so I conclude this point. The last point touching the due publishing  
and debating these controversies needs no long speare. It is straining  
abus of Antiquos and Pasquills hath ben taught before. so likewise  
I repeat of my hath ben said; a defender of Loue is more proper for  
debates of he is, nature then that of Zeale, no for all direct or indirect  
glammors or lowells at many persons. they were due in these cases disa-  
-bowed. lastly what shew be extended. the world is no met arbitrate  
but rather quiett modest, and private assemblies and conferences of  
the learned. the press and pulpit would be freed and disengaged  
from these contentions, neither amon or the one side nor glorie  
nor hate on the other side ought to continue these challenges, and  
contests, as the cross and the other plures; but rather all exchange  
of speciall all sure us be of good temper and good wisdom and consens  
ought to inultate and beat upon a peace silence & surceasance  
neither lett them foare Colours have we compelled, in farrons civi-  
lizer person on the other side nor gett the fond balminie of  
neutrality, but lett them knowe that this true we is said by a nation  
that neither in contentions are either better or worse to on either  
side. These things you I in all simplicity and simplicity lett  
knowe, touching the controversies, we more trouble the church of Eng-  
land and that we out all art or insinuation and therefore not like to  
be grateful to either parte. without standing I trust, we hath ben said  
shall finde a correspondence in your minde, we are not embarqued  
in partialtie, and we love the people better to on a part. therefore I  
not out of hope that it maye doo good, at the least I shall not repent  
my selfe of the meditation — finis

A letter to a french gent: touching the proceedings  
in Engl: in Ecclesiasticall causes translated  
of french into English by W. W.

As whereas you desire to be advertised, touching the good  
Ecclesiasticall causes because you note in them some in-  
convenience as is, we continued sometimes to one side, and  
another and as if that Clementine and lenitie were  
now used in the beginning. all we you imputed to  
riall understanding of the affairs of this state  
ding you maye doinge in singular reverence.  
The hath given unto the world of your sim-  
ple wisdom in government, we all merit  
in imparting of little I knowe in this.

meane of instruction and reformation. For other  
science, when they exceed their bounds, and growe to  
least by nature and that sovereign prince ought  
to practise or contempe, to purge, to scourge, not by  
and religion. according to these principles he came  
to the throne with a mistaking of the law of God  
by terror and rigor commandment of men fault  
although as a prince of great wisdom and magnanimity  
but he excused of one religion, yet he exceedingly con-  
vulsed, not great, but, expecting by good effort not  
in them, and therefore he made no more not by law  
30 of his father's reign. whereby he came of his sup-  
ber offered at the pleasure to any, submit to him, yet  
never so modestly to himself, and he refused to take  
further circumstances was made treason. but he  
was not liking to make remedies into men's hearts  
except by abundance of them did overflow into duty and  
of affirmations tempered for law, so as it restrained  
disobedience in impugning and impeaching advisedly an  
for his supreme power and maintaining a form  
and as for his oath it was allotted by his majesty into a great  
the cause of the name and appellation of supreme  
and by penalty of the refusal to profess turned on him into  
to take any religion or to exercise any, and yet  
of being <sup>remitted</sup> to him if any man shall hurt his  
life. But after when Julius Quintus had proclaimed  
and the bill of excommunication was published in London  
was in sort prescribed, and that he upon as pro-  
motive or preparative followed by rebellion in the re-  
cause by ill means of the realm were by that rebelli-  
ged, and that he feared at that time no foreign in-  
mure, lest the attempt of him not in the realm not  
potent should from without be contented for self  
have against that speciall sort of bringing in or re-  
bally, in his instrument, whereas was added a  
point not of treason but of an inferior degree of crime  
by bringing in of the same, called, because in  
urgency of the time, as we well known not to be  
of the same religion, but onely to be used in  
to circumvent and bewitch the people as  
to their naturall sovereign  
and former benefit



ge. Hermitte first speake

your most nature will loathe to be just and your Justice will  
to be indifferent will not suffer you to condemn any thing  
before you, much to assigne us a time when we may before  
for one selfe, and so will it appeare respect to this compli-  
ment and one importunitie invidious

ge. Hermitte second speake

Young one end to duces most sacred Queen, and so may be  
just then another, yett if complaint of this Equivocall is gene-  
reous a life brings against us all. He is angry if we offer one  
brought unto his and forgette if we come not of our selfe, but  
if messenger of selfe-love, for when all of some should be well tak-  
le sancte, that when we come we are importunate, if it meanes  
that we are in forme we leave it of his in we being a lover allow-  
if no other forme of following. if he should be to care in matter. If  
for my parte will I entlie prove, that I perswaded him to not  
but for his own good. He is wise if I to leave turning over  
booke of fortune will is but a play for children. when as here be so  
many booke of truth and knowledge better worthier the following  
not to find his own onlie upon a little picture in a Tablett when  
then be so many goodly table of history, yea to life excellent to  
behold and admire. whether he believe me or no here is no prison  
to the prison if thoughte whether one free, under the great  
shall any man make his contrivance as an antipathie. moved  
not in the demerit of one beautie, that may have the libertie of  
all contemplations shall be the sweet travelling the  
the universall variety for our vocall some comde or laboring. Let  
the and Equivocall offer his service to the master. it is long since  
creased any into their heart. they give almes continually at  
their gates that men come for to live upon. but for we have ben  
mitted into their pallace. He may find percate not da-  
us to knowe, sides and parties not far from to guide  
in our mind not venall to disbe the garden of lo-  
ete himselfe and hisse in daie and fading to more  
comforte then or is turned from him. 21.  
the privilege of the golden adge, then  
time. The morning of with  
the end of the

all tempests and windes, a maies pleasure and calme. an fill of  
 goodliest disconfort that man can haue. being a prospect upon  
 of errors and wanderinge of this put and fennice times. yea in sum  
 do it leadeth the eye beyonde the horizon of this time. and giueth  
 bestre diuination of times to come. for that if he will indeede lead  
 am vitalem. a life that vniuersally satisfie and dignitie. pleasure and  
 wealth. if he will winne admiration without enuie. if he will be  
 fast and not in the strong, in the light and not in the shade.  
 if he will embrace the life of studie and contemplation. And if he will  
 reioyce of no other reason yet because the gift of the must will  
 worthe him in his loue. And whereas now he looketh upon his  
 life out of the world the eye of some will be dashed and amazed. for  
 all these be sold for hisse person and heauenly minde will  
 be of indigent will growe stronger by merelic and mortall being  
 in an obiect

### The Gouernors speech

Equiour. the good old man hath said well to you. But I dare say  
 thou wouldest be soerie to leaue this m<sup>o</sup>. yelde and to haue his  
 booke, and I am sure the m<sup>o</sup> had rather be a falcon a bird of pray  
 then a singing bird in a cage. The must are to see martiall  
 men to seroie and sing their famous actions, and not to be strued  
 by them. Then I answer to me. It is the warres that giueth all  
 the witte of valour, not onlie honore but contentment. For much  
 we see the you didst see a man giuen to any honorable command  
 in the warres, but whensoeuer he gaue it ouer he was lead to  
 die with melancholie. for a secret solitarie, there is in that noble  
 desire, that he who tasteth it thoroughlie is distasted of all other  
 and no marvile. for if the ympter take some solace in his beast. or  
 mathe and wages of sports pass away with some satisfaction and  
 delight, if they looken on, be affected with some pleasure in the representation  
 of a famed tragedie. think not contentment a man requieth, when  
 that are equall to him in nature from the height of insolencie. and  
 when are brought to the condition of a beast pray, when a bird  
 obtained nothing of the vntories of exercises and games. are but  
 and when in a liuely tragedie a mans enemies are satisfied  
 and onto his fortune. Therefore the dignitie of militarie  
 is not of trust and perfectest part of all vertue  
 for sing the best thing we are most subiect to be  
 in continuall distributing of inuention  
 of the straightest discipline.



leader in the warres must be accomplished w<sup>th</sup> all. It is the  
 that is the truest state where the highest estate and posses-  
 sion is desired. The comparison of the state, the estate of nobilitie, the  
 of all states and lastly louers neuer thought to be of the  
 riontly feared, till then, had compared it to aduantage. As  
 any other affliction is to be wished for is but to live expellie. As  
 a braue commander in the field, deats it selfe doth to honour  
 to the and grade of glorie. Therefore Equiour lett hym goe w<sup>th</sup>  
 and to goe. If he is resolued in the p<sup>er</sup>suite of his loue, lett hym  
 vnto it by the noblest meanes. For Ladies hunt it no longer to  
 them w<sup>th</sup> their faire eyes w<sup>th</sup>, will be dymmed w<sup>th</sup> the fire of  
 an enemy. and then will gently distill a champion mact to  
 their glorie from a page not worthy to haue their p<sup>er</sup>sonable.  
 I saie againe, lett hym seeke his p<sup>er</sup>son in the feild where he  
 maye loose his loue or finde more argum<sup>te</sup> to aduantage it



### The Equiour's speache

Equiour my aduise to the m<sup>ay</sup>or shalbe as a token wrayte w<sup>th</sup> in word  
 but then will it selfe shewe it selfe faire when it is unfolded in his an-  
 to w<sup>th</sup> hym to change from one hono<sup>r</sup> to another, w<sup>th</sup> but ab-  
 for the sake of a man in waine, one shoulde aduise hym to lye on the  
 of the syde, but not to make hym to stande upon his feete. w<sup>th</sup> from  
 a sanguine deligitfull humo<sup>r</sup> of loue he turne to a melancholicke  
 turned humo<sup>r</sup> of contemplation or a turbulent boyling humo<sup>r</sup> of  
 warres. w<sup>th</sup> doth, yet but change trauers. Contemplation is a de-  
 loue a trauers, and the humo<sup>r</sup> of w<sup>th</sup> a laving. The first be stille of  
 humo<sup>r</sup> but no reclaining to reason. I debaite hym not studied  
 books to giue hym store and varietie of knowledge, to refresh his mi-  
 to sober flouty and indisposition, and to cleare to hym from those  
 w<sup>th</sup> studious, despoite and commendation. But lett hym beware  
 then possesse not to m<sup>ay</sup>or of his time. that then abstract not his  
 from put expedience. nor make hym p<sup>er</sup>son upon knowing m<sup>ay</sup>or  
 w<sup>th</sup> the lest. For the warres. I denie hym no enterprise  
 be worthy in greaten<sup>te</sup>, likely in surer, or necessary induct  
 m<sup>ay</sup>or w<sup>th</sup> am<sup>ay</sup>or circumstances of felicie but duellie laid upon  
 will not giue hym take the allay from his w<sup>th</sup> humo<sup>r</sup>.  
 m<sup>ay</sup>or. and I woulde againe goe shoulde knowe a m<sup>ay</sup>or  
 m<sup>ay</sup>or. and for his loue, lett hym not see disarme his  
 alke hym to credulous to fauour, not too tender  
 to depende upon the galle he knoweth  
 w<sup>th</sup> of loue, lett hym not goe to

create. But Aquinas saith it is to be made in private  
 or upon the service of the instruments to employed men, & relations  
 in the state, the treaties betwixt princes, and the affairs of the  
 time, be the books of the state. Let the orations of wise princes or  
 renowned counsellors in Council or Parliament, and the small  
 sentences of grave and learned judges in weighty and doubtful  
 causes, be the letters of the frequent. Let the holding of the session in  
 conference without regard, the frustrating of the attempts of the  
 not without battailed, the winning of the gift ministers about other  
 times without falsity, the intending of the crown to new  
 possessions without wrong, the filling of the prisons with  
 the treasure without judgment, the suppressing of tumults and  
 actions without violence, the keeping of men in appetite without  
 impatience, be the inventions of the state. Let pollutions & matters  
 of state be the chiefest and almost onlie thing intended. But if  
 it will beleeve Philautia and seek most his own enjoyment, he must  
 not of them embrace all kinds but make choice and avoid all matters  
 of pleasure, of displeasure and regard and turne them out to some new  
 that knoweth not manacles from bracelet, but from noacles.  
 For himselfe let him seek for matters of remedie and strength  
 though they be joynted with paine. Let him not trouble himselfe too  
 laboriously to come into any matters directly, or to execute any thing  
 warlike, but let him make himselfe cunning rather in the humors &  
 drifts of persons, then in the nature of business & affaires. Let that  
 it instruct onlie to knowe something as may make him able to make  
 use of other mens witte, and to make againe a smother and pleasant  
 reporte. Let him extemate the explications of thees, and the rates  
 let him have an eye to the by circumstances to the matter it selfe  
 for then he shall be able to adde something of his own, and besides  
 when a mandate not forgett, men do think his witte by his abundance  
 for the substance in his counsell let him not be confident, for that  
 will make him obnoxious to the prince. But let him followe the wisdom  
 of oracles not uttered by thees, might be applied to the event. And  
 the rather let him take the word which is likeliest to be followed, then the  
 is soundest and best. The more thing may seeme to be carried by his  
 to conclude, let him be true to himselfe, & avoid all tedious cares  
 of state, that are not much pertinent to his particular. And if  
 will needs pursue his affection, and go on his course, not can  
 examine him in his own way. Yet more it is that he is too  
 horious to be inwardly grateful, and it is the pile of the  
 the strong affection upon the returne, cannot but be  
 the life. But when his mind is all because he is  
 master of his, a disservice of the state, as  
 the state is in the interest of the



wast attende non bradesman q' t'g' muste non take nor please in wil-  
 les q' varietie. but it is but q' p'cedereth. non are a man e'g' in  
 neds metallis and cristall. nor minde is ab q' water n' taking  
 forme and impression, but what q' substance will non compare  
 to the bedes picture n' life. t'g' varietie q' many beeties  
 t'g' p'cedereth excellencie q' one. And is a comparison between  
 knowledge and love. Some one man q' water must eue be in noys. you  
 a que larre and aduance p'cedereth and trouble nation and some  
 landmarke q' kingdom. and some man and non tragedie in  
 mude and t'g' is worst q' all. make all q' beeties amessario to  
 our bloodshed. hat q' practise q' p'cedereth you q' t'g' p'cedereth reason.  
 t'g' that you will compare q' interruption q' fortune n' p'cedereth person q'  
 h'ntie. t'g' conquest q' bodies n' t'g' conquest q' p'cedereth. t'g' t'g' p'cedereth  
 t'g' n' destruction and disolucte n' t'g' celestiale n' quietude  
 and quiete life. Some is t'g' comparison between t'g' p'cedereth and love  
 and a' for you intorne p'cedereth. but t'g' p'cedereth bondman to Philautia  
 non t'g' p'cedereth to bynde occasion. and t'g' p'cedereth fortune. I would ask  
 you but one question. did eue any Ladie e'g' to please or displeas to de-  
 ceise q' love. I maye e'g' so e'g' taste e'g' p'cedereth to Philautia  
 p'cedereth q' you. while n' life is nothing but a continuall att'nt  
 upon a stage. and t'g' p'cedereth minde must seue you. e'g' more, and yett n' p'cedereth  
 outward parte must seue your end. so t'g' p'cedereth in one p'cedereth  
 two p'cedereth seue to two contrarie m'ed. But I will leue you  
 to t'g' p'cedereth q' t'g' m'ed n' p'cedereth you vnder take to goe in t'g' p'cedereth  
 to n' p'cedereth Philautia hath b'nded you. And yett you remission of q' Phil-  
 autia. I will p'cedereth one degree f'rt'g' p'cedereth. yf I allowed bot' your affiance  
 and your valenre. is you e'g' p'cedereth t'g' p'cedereth. man, not my m'ed n' p'cedereth  
 o'nt p'cedereth and e'g' p'cedereth for aduantage. I mean, not q' p'cedereth  
 divide e'g' p'cedereth in bot' p'cedereth. as in your fainting tal' towards t'g'  
 p'cedereth you did e'g' to e'g'. But becaust all t'g' p'cedereth are in t'g' p'cedereth  
 q' e'g' m'ed more fullie to bestow t'g' p'cedereth can be attayned by your  
 address knowledge fame and fortune. for t'g' p'cedereth t'g' p'cedereth t'g' p'cedereth  
 to e'g' m'ed for q' p'cedereth liberte t'g' p'cedereth in e'g' p'cedereth  
 during e'g' most florissing time. In regarde n' p'cedereth t'g' p'cedereth e'g' ad-  
 orned and h'nt p'cedereth t'g' p'cedereth q' all q' p'cedereth. n' libe-  
 ran p'cedereth sing a storie q' great anno n' e'g' m'ed p'cedereth in  
 royall breast by t'g' p'cedereth t'g' p'cedereth q' t'g' p'cedereth. n' n' p'cedereth  
 e'g' p'cedereth q' t'g' p'cedereth is not familiar n' e'g' p'cedereth. n' n' p'cedereth  
 t'g' p'cedereth e'g' p'cedereth to p'cedereth is unknowne unto e'g' p'cedereth  
 n' p'cedereth. t'g' p'cedereth e'g' p'cedereth t'g' p'cedereth, t'g' p'cedereth  
 to e'g' p'cedereth a lecture exceeding all deade m'ed  
 e'g' p'cedereth all t'g' p'cedereth q' n' p'cedereth e'g' p'cedereth  
 a favorite and p'cedereth seruante to p'cedereth  
 n' p'cedereth

to attaine it by a floure of sinning, & then by the gift of sinne a la  
 tence of Erophilo resolution is freed. The Economie Philautia in  
 incontinent. & experte noting and all things from his mind  
 correction & will conferre with the master for his desire and good  
 sacrifice his life in the warre, for to be embalmed in the stone  
 of his remembrance. to his service he will construct all his  
 full indevotion and will ever beate in his heart, the picture of  
 his, in his anone of his will, and in his picture of his grace & favour

For the Earle of Guntre at 7 tilt an. 96



Most deim and more mightie then the Quene to reason all other Que  
 are subject, I intant fortune of making the amire as firme as her  
 timent care to other that both may be mythe. & in being of slave of  
 no end to the mistress of her rule command to deate to beginne the  
 take away of mythe of the bestowes them on other that can  
 possesse them. Even the most absolute & emitt of her gate made  
 might himself before he was himself no not able to rule her bon  
 at the greatest now being less then rule him. and he is become of the  
 of that he is lord. so that in his power his service is limited, not  
 his will is infinite. often and most movingly, gate the grace of  
 of the most faithful servant his dulle and of his honoured father  
 & amicable appeared unto him, still oberting to his yong & wandering  
 into the amirant and constant honor of his count. but sustaining in  
 of his anone & pulst of his indevotion, at last the united sentence  
 strongest in reason to apply himself to his indevotion, and in sub  
 his sensuale parte to give his soule of conquest & marriage of his acte  
 by most horrible importunitie, & then vowed to the noble appariti  
 upon his & rouse to returne himself so long from himself till he left  
 self in them and then come forward to their professions. In signe of  
 27 unfained conversion he was apparent that sentence. Ponto alter his  
 as the countess had reformed his mind, the wounds of his disca  
 still stirring in his forehead shall no mainte unto his favor of  
 his bonitie in title them the marks of gold. Then most deate sove  
 notwithstanding absence in afternoon will still sit in his servante bosom  
 like gate and told in the number of the mind and be ready in conrealme  
 his love to lighten out his life with impulsion & self the forma  
 case since of his & rouse. that in the humble & offe of a poor  
 ay live as stone not out of the way, as gate of his & rouse, not  
 tie. polluric of deate favor and state of parties & rouse  
 dismiss him from personall attendance. Therefore making a  
 of the gate of his favor past and to be present grace  
 in parte in deate of his indevotion full salute. & will  
 be as the eternal fontaine from whence it  
 & humble & rouse his consecrated lamm  
 it offe, & his gate for & rouse



most feared and belovd most sweet and gracious Lady  
my most loving friend

most feared and belovd most sweet and gracious sovereign to  
entirely of this my bodie and to anme to your anshoring of  
my reason for it might better serve I knowe I did misse  
my running to attempt spiriually in god in my able love  
differ into the thing come. I knowe well no claiming on better do  
to make it more inevitable. I knowe no object bearing of  
reason, then the claiming me at your feet, nor no object in my opinion  
attention or pardon, but I knowe I have sacrificed of unfeigned love. I  
simple and direct to me as your loving to call on me to be more  
your self down to your flowing of my mind in this most matter import  
as I think of continuance of your health and as I knowe to your  
life. And because my words please I must needs confess but from  
from the wellspring of my loial affection, gave delivered to your grace  
it is for some of my travelling to your grace, I will but onlie decla  
re to be the reason that make me to think to your marriage of my self to be  
profitable for you. then will answer, to your objection of the fear of  
spurne so violent a refuge. I knowe good and evil that may come to you, by  
must be considered either according to your estate or person. to your estate  
it can be added to the being an absolute bond and unbinding is expected  
I knowe it. But as you say to your grace we want to see to you that die  
that you are your grace are false so needs to your grace so terrible not be  
fitted to you endowed with spirits about all things, a man might well  
best not in your grace to your grace to be so gettable a bodie  
to apply so needful a medicine. not your grace can recover so sagacious  
an adventure sagacious mind, were it for nothing but the taking and  
of a well maintained and well approved trade. for as in bodie nature  
my sudden change is not, but terrible. so to this bodie pollute  
your grace you are to onlie grace, it is seems to be more as to you are  
more seemed to receive your grace impression. But sagacious is  
to be more to be regarded with the nature of the agent and patient are  
fitted to be to oration to you. to patient I knowe to your grace, to  
agent man's love and his pleasure for neither outward amends do.  
my grace against a true inward strength, nor inward weakness  
liggish subvert it self not put being by some outward force  
ward force for us for your grace treasure to your grace of your grace  
to host and onlie to no conflicts in your grace. to subvert  
to expect in warlike action and as to you are divided in  
to. and finally be made upon the new lastable  
on is of to you to your grace may be granted  
will to you. not to be by the continuance of  
to your grace all others and from your grace



[illegible]



[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

You must take it as a singular favor god hath done to be indeed the more  
of his mercy and yet in worldly respects your kingdom better suited  
to do if you make that religion no on the you stand to raise the molis  
and cause abroad that shall intimate the cause as long as to  
be kept from other facing the matter is sure enough from the messenger  
as for this man so long as he is but a monk and a priest in profession  
can not will the catch of words you and if he grow long his desire will be  
diseased should not be weighed down by the on defended to be that more it  
contempt at some if some be sure not I will never believe, let not the  
turd of virtue justice and liberalitie, daily if it be possible more and more  
let your spiritual persons be found out (not is case I think to be done) by  
may gratify all the parties of your people. let the in reason reason  
and to reason you have committed trust in your magisterial affairs be right  
the eyes of your people. Justice doing as you do you shall as you be  
of promise, the ornament of the age, the comfort of the afflicted, the delight of  
the most excellent fruit of all your good works. the perfect mirror to your  
people



excellent fruit of all your good works. the perfect mirror to your  
people

And I will remaine in the same

And I will remaine in the same

And I will remaine in the same

And I will remaine in the same

And I will remaine in the same

And I will remaine in the same

And I will remaine in the same

*[Faint, mostly illegible handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a historical manuscript. The text is arranged in several horizontal lines across the page. Some words are more legible than others, but the overall content is obscured by fading and ink bleed-through.]*

*[In the upper right corner, there is a small, more legible handwritten note:]*

*... in a ...  
...  
...  
...  
...*

*[In the middle of the page, there is a line of text that appears to be a signature or a specific heading:]*

*...  
...  
...*

*[The bottom half of the page contains several more lines of faint handwriting, continuing the main body of text.]*









or followers now ran so in bawmed example he  
 pleased by him, now ran words yeare example he  
 good favours, nor one may be in countenance, as  
 example he take it, use it and acknowledge it for  
 all the favoured grace. Dignity of persons and  
 we for may be somewhat for the Pooleman and yet  
 to purchase his min private from hand favours  
 in hand his by and to forty for his favour we  
 by his means it be great. This in deed it  
 may not marke his service for right and wealth  
 works a common voice too for him but for  
 him his same, we range him self well to win  
 his spirit of growinge unordnely. And first  
 confusions thereof is born so instant and  
 his for. But now men may beare the same for  
 or vintage the better it be received, for albeit  
 take it may, upon bare promise only he comen  
 out, Ambition brings alwayes the more of  
 yet he forsake the same we surge implor  
 as here is no longer abiding for he plays  
 alive, as might be proved by the examples  
 Roma he take it from the courts  
 only displeasure which he can be. And  
 be otherwise moste exalted and distressant  
 Below in Gorge broke and of all that we





















[illegible][illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]





[illegible]

to  $\sigma_2$  and  $\sigma_3$  used in volume for  $\sigma_1$  and will mix to  $\sigma_1$  arranged at  
not on a basis

mit einem ablesbaren

[illegible]

It is not so good & quick & for measure & safe & reliable & would be of little  
it is the main reason why we must be most careful of our business & our

16/18 mammalios represent to be most myable & ambled entire u  
to ability trust not to go for him - place or some other & mymyfain  
at the end of the road - in the same <sup>last</sup> place - to define d'outrami

4<sup>th</sup> of good will / Equile want in Enn being <sup>the</sup> with so desire of Austram.  
 intent and attempt to a point to <sup>the</sup> same is put in the bar based in

is better, if possible, to give power to the local radio station, not to the  
isolation to get a full-fledged union. I will know by a simple test.

After a fit to be as at Dristotle suite there is no ~~agent~~ / 6 / single in 5

not for sum. final ends. as if birds built to not form without to build  
to form not endie but also to sum agonists always frame in work

portion of his intended one, no upon the face or badge make a wish  
it is a shame to be meant to draw the long great stick of spring their

it is a sign of a man's mind, as is my lo: of the: for I'm  
 & in the 1/2 of the world with an urgent as is my lo: of the: for I'm  
 & in the 1/2 of the world with an urgent as is my lo: of the: for I'm

Is onde km lyse pittinge e separations yfge t mimm an omme  
treutnos yfge fparations nyl onde tambe no mimmr nor lisse reon

auditor's report is sufficient and firmature do find it was care in our  
response to the same.

n<sup>o</sup> manntz eis so dilligent boßung f<sup>r</sup>z<sup>r</sup> vermodt yßm. eis taktung b<sup>r</sup>  
pauktet about 5 or 6 in february in Quert & 18 in malarie in fev

preparation of strength abroad. His unwilling of his completed the  
 run not to abundance of hand which in the first ten years

run note fgc/abnormal urine / 6 friends saw water not do fgc/tf mg e  
 in a m. other as y<sup>e</sup> saw/well noted e signified before but unlik e in  
 all

de informari: not die & place to mye portend in times past in his  
mye & portend in the same, or howe could we rembe, & & some part

[illegible]

I remember I saw Lord Hounslow & his amment & saw him  
 in the days of Duke of Northumberland & his wifes father was g.

of all men to mine noted as after ex-posed & spiritual woe in  
to growst & off: & made em selfe primumall of y<sup>e</sup> fason by marri-

It was potent & proved such power and by all conditions is of great use  
to all others & secure towards is of power & benefiting no man

care about all of your & I believe you will find it  
entirely better if it was to take up the power as common law  
in the case of the court in my hands for among now about to go

no will stands and ~~to~~ as ~~the~~ father did to ~~for~~ brother of pen

an affection of the lungs of the lungs. We no longer imagine that  
the lungs are the seat of the lungs. The lungs are the seat of the lungs.

2. *Trilobon* *Hy. m. f. 6* H. 8.

no more quote & gone part & do not quote in p. 10: no  
- rotate binding in in south of 2 off: just a matter

[illegible]

Es liegt stark blos 4 Lott spritzig aus Weiss  
in die stark wasserat ferg Bouw

11. 5. 1962, 10:40

Figure 1. The effect of the concentration of the inhibitor on the rate of polymerization of the monomer.

I have been thinking of you very much lately, and wondering how you are getting on. I hope you are well and happy. I have been very busy lately, but I have managed to find some time to write to you. I have been thinking of you very much lately, and wondering how you are getting on. I hope you are well and happy. I have been very busy lately, but I have managed to find some time to write to you.

[illegible]





[illegible]

when he first began to stonde marriage to the Queen's mother  
 he was at first time no so thought best for establisshing of his  
 name & honour & upon this was married to the King's daughter  
 & his own wife was dead whom all the world knew then to be alive and in  
 some afterwordes she was found dead in bed. This great sorrowe in  
 his is a kingdome cause spruiled to the death of manye noble marriage  
 no shall I thought for the time most convenient

And so you see in the King's time you see the King's mother concluded  
 for so much of the King's time thought one of the 3 byssons be no bir but drago  
 marriage between young Donbige and the little daughter of the King's mother  
 & stand not for the King's time. Now I thought the King's mother concluded to the King's  
 the King's mother. But so you see in the King's time the King's mother is there not  
 of Duke John of the King's time in the King's time

And so you see in the King's time the King's mother is there not  
 the King's mother. But so you see in the King's time the King's mother is there not  
 of Duke John of the King's time in the King's time

And so you see in the King's time the King's mother is there not  
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And so you see in the King's time the King's mother is there not  
 the King's mother. But so you see in the King's time the King's mother is there not  
 of Duke John of the King's time in the King's time

And so you see in the King's time the King's mother is there not  
 the King's mother. But so you see in the King's time the King's mother is there not  
 of Duke John of the King's time in the King's time

And so you see in the King's time the King's mother is there not  
 the King's mother. But so you see in the King's time the King's mother is there not  
 of Duke John of the King's time in the King's time





An error of  $\frac{1}{2}$  ft.  
is to be corrected  
by the same



Lawyer

gent

her marriage and  
death to serve &  
inspiration fourm

prematurity in 18<sup>th</sup>  
alters

June,

† spiritual blessing

rate of increase  
is approx:

4.

& meam v<sup>o</sup> Conspirators of Northw. & East. m<sup>o</sup>. Ed. dares & has  
 committed at v<sup>o</sup> time w<sup>o</sup> quartered p<sup>o</sup> whole and v<sup>o</sup> was v<sup>o</sup> differ m<sup>o</sup>  
 after p<sup>o</sup> Kingdome w<sup>o</sup> should have ben put in execution before. for  
 blotting w<sup>o</sup> as yett their designe were not published to v<sup>o</sup> w<sup>o</sup>  
 Domesticks of v<sup>o</sup> King. well they might have done & gotten into t<sup>o</sup>  
 & dispatched some other few affaires before they had caused v<sup>o</sup> young  
 but in many reason p<sup>o</sup> whole designe had taken place & v<sup>o</sup> King  
 w<sup>o</sup>ld v<sup>o</sup> to v<sup>o</sup> men being w<sup>o</sup>lded in their own Affaires w<sup>o</sup>ld take  
 v<sup>o</sup> like w<sup>o</sup>ld by delay but rather w<sup>o</sup>ld make all p<sup>o</sup> v<sup>o</sup> King  
 as our quorthe warre w<sup>o</sup>ld be

It cannot be denied in reason quite to Lawier but if I should have more  
of the list now under the put favour Comptroller & Auditor of  
I could not have after for I might distrust upon any man should come  
for his successor before me by reason of the statute provided for  
to be and for for I for my self would rather Comptroller than to make a  
life for after to be, little knowe what more ensue or before, in design

It will make a most good quall & Bond for their more advantage  
it is like to serve as examples of Ed. and Am. 2. as also of H. and Ed. 6.  
furthermore whose lives more prolonged since their death more troug.

table for y <sup>e</sup> Conserato <sup>r</sup> & no longer: and for y <sup>e</sup> Statute not passed & secured for establishing y <sup>e</sup> immortallty of y <sup>e</sup> next <sup>trust</sup> Successor: & reformed all our for next word to be made for y <sup>e</sup> Declaration & Continuatio <sup>n</sup> of y <sup>e</sup> same: it is so knowe & it shall no endure longer than y <sup>e</sup> life of y <sup>e</sup> ex <sup>or</sup> : all y <sup>e</sup> now taught
---

in London London full of themselves but I did to place another for London  
 full for a fairer proclamation of my love of Hunt, is in one of the most of our  
 efforts to change all such as shall dare open their mouth for defence of

At this wordes the old Lawer shewed unto him as aforesaid a booke  
written in the same after his fashion whereat we laughed and then said  
that had thought that no man had understood how to make a man of his statue

but now I trouble you I alone am not malicious for my own sake I am for  
you I as often as I read your letter I am glad to hear of your health  
namely times I do I hope my self must rejoice & comforted in many  
things I hope I shall be able to do so in the future & so I wish

I now recognize  
that it is a life to be lived for all of the world of law.

and common & more it may be said that  
my remembrance and mine own experience of this a desire for remembrance of  
that for in all ages of time & times of specialis from the divine world,  
for ordinary & positions for declaration and manifestation of the law

brood e fourde boke. and therfor is strauunge and nere donig e uer  
 raunge and brouncomod manig. and god of his miche g. raunt. that he  
 bested eberd.

non is already evident by now some in the world is  
I am of the other kind. It is at his date by the  
entire means in the world of some good a

Es teinte vom Buntturo wo man  
 Oxonium rogerokale 15 1/2 d. 1/2 d. 1/2 d.  
 Galba bor not 1/2 d. 1/2 d. 1/2 d.

[illegible]





[illegible]



[illegible]

of infamous dealing  
of L. B. & Co. & all series  
by Hunt.

*An. i. nictua.*

is quite to be noted  
by her mate

if any of both  
now so

*g. g. g. g.*



Simacio f  
Lane:

4 Lane:

been & of King H. 7. who misse sold though many attempted to  
been sent H. 7. some wrong at this time by some means all in belief  
many of his unfortunates by whom he O'Connell would amuse &  
in & be safe though his title was of course all available

But I know by Gods lyes how your another letter of the 3. inst.  
proue his cōd brother to be to be a boyfard and make quēstion of  
male as female to be void; w<sup>ch</sup> doubt thought it be ridiculous and in  
note first intended y<sup>et</sup> as y<sup>e</sup> found at y<sup>e</sup> tyew a do. Clau<sup>er</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> same  
of y<sup>e</sup> same at Pauls Crois<sup>e</sup> in a sermon and for nof<sup>r</sup> recte m<sup>an</sup>  
fomde at dūes great lōes in his time to sett by y<sup>e</sup> way of d<sup>e</sup>uill. and so  
+ daug<sup>hters</sup> both in London Cambridge oxford & o<sup>ther</sup> places most aspe  
all law and reason so I doubt not but good men will find out also both  
to sett out y<sup>e</sup> title of Clau<sup>er</sup> as before y<sup>e</sup> whole interest of l. 11. 7. and  
nation foruad w<sup>ch</sup> is a rep<sup>re</sup>sent<sup>ation</sup> of innocēcy to be considered by you  
act & meant no more to stande for ex<sup>em</sup>ption but onely by way of d<sup>e</sup>te  
Clau<sup>er</sup> said

After as it most honorable Laurence and Laurence Comyns of the same order  
 H 7 and his wife made an order of the wedding of the same order  
 as it desired we are with our friends we have mixed by the name of the  
 of the whole that now is in hand for the cutting of the same of the same of the  
 of the whole to the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the  
 in which disorder and to make do by the name of the same of the same of the  
 from at the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the  
 by the name of the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the  
 if some be done to be done to the same of the same of the same of the same of the  
 in which the same of the same of the same of the same of the same of the

and about 200000 sold of pure as half my lo. 4000. this will make much more  
of sum after as to be left full a good dole from it of port and 2 in my  
gratification to have of said as now it is placed being my self no favourer of  
yet indifferent men have to consider since it was taken in times past and  
again in time to come of contents should assist from many noble persons  
Katharine did offer themselves to do in some kind of service with us and  
given and rewarded through our of realm for maintenance of 5 years ago  
of work for our from many noble things were crowned and rewarded of it  
to, with of most of 4. my noble of one after another of 4 of 5 of 6 and of 7  
to be in sum of our and of of arms, not only inferior of it  
of of our house and line of work after of division between the families

is to be considered also as a special sign of his fauour & affection for our  
 liege H: Earle of Armond though descending but of the last sonne and  
 R: Edmund of Lan: was so respected for that onlie by y<sup>e</sup> vniu<sup>er</sup>sall  
 kind resolue to call him from banishment & to make him King w<sup>ch</sup> the d  
 then ruled of the house of York & upon sundrie onlie y<sup>e</sup> of said H  
 daughter of the Countesse of Armond so great was in those daies  
 as to towards the King of France for y<sup>e</sup> great works made of  
 at that time some good or bad so did their title more more & should  
 it but onlie to informate the y<sup>e</sup> the King's mind in an  
 onlie how of the cause daunted & contented  
 it was at this daie y<sup>e</sup> Remained of y<sup>e</sup> title  
 & whose person is banished & dead w<sup>ch</sup> made  
 & shall, misreport & cause for misfifit











